

GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

JANUARY 1945



C O N T E N T S

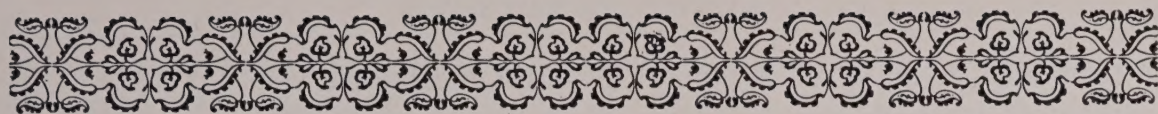
THE BIRD-IN-THE-ANIMAL-MOUTH ON CHINESE BRONZES, BY J. LEROY DAVIDSON. ¶ THE DE PASS ILLUSTRATIONS OF OVID, BY HENRY REITLINGER. ¶ THE LAST PRINCE OF URBINO, BY WILLIAM R. VALENTINER. ¶ BAROQUE AFTERPIECE, THE PICTURESQUE, BY WYLIE SYPHER. ¶ AN UNKNOWN PORTRAIT OF PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, BY E. TIETZ-CONRAT. ¶ BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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THE BIRD-IN-THE-ANIMAL-MOUTH ON CHINESE BRONZES

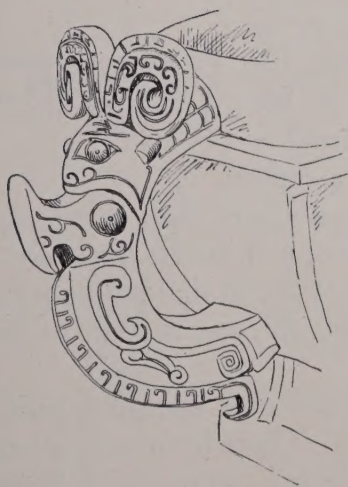


FIG. 1.—SHANG OR EARLY CHOU.—
Handle of a *Kuang*, bronze.—Present
whereabouts unknown.

MANY attempts have been made to interpret the symbolism of the stylized motives which cover the surfaces of early Chinese ritual bronzes.¹ Even now, after fifteen years of intense interest in this subject, there is little unanimity concerning the identification of many of the recurrent zoomorphic designs that must represent keys to the still undeciphered language of ancient Chinese symbolism. Although some of the images have been recognized, others have been casually referred to as dragons or tigers when they might equally well be birds or some hybrid beast. It is possible, of course, that the documentary material necessary to provide definitive interpretations of the symbols may not be extant. Nevertheless,

not even the very first steps toward understanding these motives can be taken until specialists come to some general agreement about the interpretation of these symbols. As in most primary research there is little glamor in analyzing quantities of motives without being able to draw brilliant generalizations. Yet, at this stage in the study of early Chinese art, only a series of articles which present analyses of individual elements for information, criticism, discussion, and stimulation, can lead toward the objective: the ultimate understanding of one of the world's great arts.

The problem is to learn to recognize the stylistic conventions



FIG. 2.—SHANG.—Handle
of a *Kuang*, bronze.—
Winthrop Collection, Fogg
Museum, Cambridge,
Mass.

1. The only convincing identification has been published by HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL, who, on the basis of epigraphy, established the meaning of the spiral background as a rain or thunder symbol (*Studies in early Chinese culture*, Baltimore, 1937, pp. 236-237).

of the bronze designer. These appear to consist of a limited vocabulary of forms (three or four types of eye, three kinds of ears, one form of nose, four kinds of horns, and so on), the component elements of which combine in a wide variety of relationships. Thus the combination of an eye, a nose, one type of ear, and one form of horn identifies the bull's head, while a variation in the type of horn changes the representation into the head of a ram. Because of this it is possible to assemble the various parts of a symbol which at times is "dissolved" into seemingly unrelated parts.

On the other hand, the additive combination of various anatomical features creates fantastic creatures with heads of birds or animals and bodies of reptiles, or birds wearing the horns of animals. Such combinations are often difficult to recognize as



FIG. 3.—SHANG.—Handle of a *Kuang*, bronze.—Kano Collection, Japan. (Drawing after Ume-hara.)

units. Sometimes motives coalesce so that, for example, two snakes form the horns of the ram, while frequently the tail of an animal is constructed with the representation of a reptile.

Often two or more creatures are associated in a recurrent juxtaposition, which seems to form a motive in itself. This article is devoted specifically to the analysis of one of these composite motives, that is, the bird-in-the-animal-mouth, and to some of its metamorphoses.

In its classic form this motive consists of a complete bird, the head of which is in an animal mouth. There is no indication as to whether the bird is being eaten, ejected, or merely held in the mouth. However, in a parallel motive in which an apparently human head appears in a ram's mouth (poletop, Pillsbury Collection, Minneapolis), the human (?) face is wreathed in a wide grin. On two other bronzes (one in the Cernuschi Museum, Paris; the other in the Sumitomo Collection, Japan) where the head of a complete figure is shown in an animal's mouth, the figure appears to embrace the beast, and no attitude of fear is obvious. Thus, lacking evidence that either the bird or the human representation is being devoured, it seems wise at this time merely to recognize that the head is in the mouth, without speculating on its past or present fate.

Not all representations show the complete bird-in-the-animal-mouth. Often the bird is reduced symbolically to a beak. Other variations consisting of two birds and a symbolic reduction of the animal can be understood only by tracing each step in the metamorphoses of the symbol.

In bronzes of the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) and Early Chou period



FIG. 4.—SHANG.—Handle of a *Kuang*, bronze.—Winthrop Collection, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

(1122-950 B.C.) this motive is common on handles of the vessels designated as *kuei* and *kuang*, but also appears elsewhere on other bronze vessels, and, less frequently, on carvings in jade. A classic example appears on the handle of a *kuang* (Fig. 1). Here the complete motive is clearly defined. At the top of the handle is a ram's head, in the mouth of which is a bird's head. The significant features of the bird are the unmistakable eyes, axe-shaped beak, stylized wings, and hooked tail feathers.

Another example, in the Winthrop Collection (now in the Fogg Museum of Art), shows some minor variations (Fig. 2). Instead of the ram's horns, the animal at the top of the handle wears a variation of the enigmatic "bottle" horns, and the bird's beak turns downward. Not many variations of this motive, how-



FIG. 5. — EARLY CHOU. —
Handle of a *Kuei*, bronze.
— Yamanaka Collection,
New York.

ever, are as easily recognized. In general, there is a tendency for the head to become lost within the animal's mouth. At times even the wings are eliminated and all that remains of the representation is the animal head holding a curving handle, at the bottom of which is a small hook—vestige of the bird's tail. Even in modern Chinese jade cups carved in the shapes of miniature *kuei* the memory of the motive still lingers in the rectangular hook at the bottom of the handles. Such an archeological remnant pays tribute to the traditionalism which persists despite detachment from both its ideological source and its representational aspect.

In order to wipe out some of the misconceptions regarding this motive and to point out its relationships with other symbols, several examples of different stages have been selected from a mass of Shang and Early Chou material.

The trend toward the extinction of the bird's head is noticed on the handle of a Shang bronze illustrated by Ume-hara (Fig. 3).² Here the bird's head is so enveloped in the animal mouth that only the owllike eye and beak are visible. A further progression (Figs. 4 and 5) is the disappearance of the eye; the beak, which appears to be fused with the animal mouth, is now the only remaining part of the bird's head. This is the most common method of representing this motive. Almost as frequent a version is typified in another handle

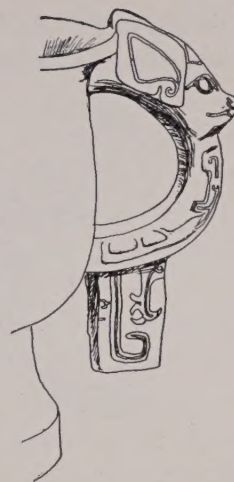


FIG. 6. — EARLY CHOU. —
Handle of a *Kuei*, bronze.
— Present whereabouts
unknown.



FIG. 7. — EARLY CHOU. — Bird,
jade. — Alfred F. Pillsbury
Collection, Minneapolis.

2. SUEJI UMEHARA, *Selected ancient treasures found at An-yang, Yin Sites*, Kyoto, 1940, Pl. XLIII.

(Fig. 6) where the bird's head has completely vanished and only the animal head and the bird's body remain to form a handle.



FIG. 8.—EARLY CHOU.—Handle of a *Kuei*, bronze.—C. T. Loo & Co. Collection, New York.

He considers this a water symbol and as such suitable as a marking on the tongue. However, this pattern commonly appears on birds' beaks, especially in jades.⁴ Thus we can find no relevancy in considering the beak as a tongue merely because a cicada or chevronlike pattern are imprinted on it. Hentze is forced to state that the projection sometimes serves as *both* tongue and beak and that it simultaneously curves upward and downward. This double curve is actually nothing but the axe-shaped beak already noted in the handle of a *Kuang* (Fig. 1). Sometimes the projection seems to curve



FIG. 10.—SHANG OR EARLY CHOU.—Double bird, jade.—C. T. Loo Collection, New York.

Although this motive seems to be relatively obvious, a different reading has been made by Carl Hentze.³ He explains the projection in the animal mouth (when the bird's head has disappeared) as the animal's tongue. His reasoning is based on the frequent depiction of the cicada, another common motive, on the projection. He refers to the Chinese tradition of placing a jade cicada in the mouth of the corpse as a logical analogy for representing the cicada on the animal's tongue. Even Hentze, however, acknowledges the presence of a cicada on the beak of an owl in the Eumorfopoulos Collection. Moreover, there are examples of cicadas on the breasts of birds, as on the well-known owl in the collection of Mrs. William H. Moore.

Hentze also emphasizes the importance of a chevronlike or zigzag pattern which appears on the projection.

upward in a manner unlike a beak.

However, when the curving line is traced beyond the outline, a complete axe-shaped beak becomes apparent (Fig. 7). On innumerable bronzes the lower curve is indicated only by such an incised line ending in a spiral (Fig. 8).

A more challenging problem is presented by Hentze in his discussion of the handles of a *kuei*, formerly in the Oeder Collection and now in the Freer Gallery of Art (Fig. 9). Here the complete bird is represented,

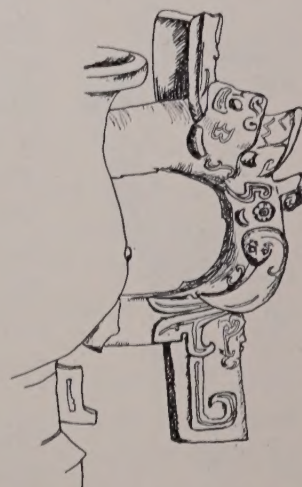


FIG. 9.—EARLY CHOU.—Handle of a *Kuei*, bronze.—Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

3. *Frühchinesische Bronzen und Kultdarstellungen*, Antwerp, 1937, pp. 37-40.

4. See: ALFRED SALMONY, *Carved jade of Ancient China*, Berkeley, 1938, Pl. XVII, nos. 1 and 5.

but a complication is created by an upcurving protuberance in the animal mouth, just above the head of the bird. At first glance this projection seems to give credence to Hentze's claim that it is the animal's tongue. It is only by comparison with other similar representations that this motive can definitely be identified as a beak. Why, then, should two beaks occur in such juxtaposition?



FIG. 11. — EARLY CHOU. — *Kuang*, bronze. — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

ample of this combination. A similar jade, in the Winthrop Collection, has a smaller bird placed between the legs and tail feathers of a larger bird. A variation occurs below the lip of the Metropolitan Museum's *kuang* (Fig. 11). The larger bird again is predominant over a smaller bird which is reduced to to an eye and beak. Superficially the two



FIG. 12. — SHANG. — *Kuang*, bronze. — Winthrop Collection, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

beaks give the appearance of an open beak. Such analysis, however, does not account for the extra pair of eyes nor does the type of open beak fit into the normal vocabulary of style.

The same kind of reduction demonstrated in the study of the *bird-in-the-animal-mouth* characterizes the treatment of the marsupial bird. On the Winthrop *kuang*, already mentioned, the larger bird appears in full on both sides of the flange below the lip, while the smaller bird—reduced to a beak, an incised eye, and an ear—projects from the flange

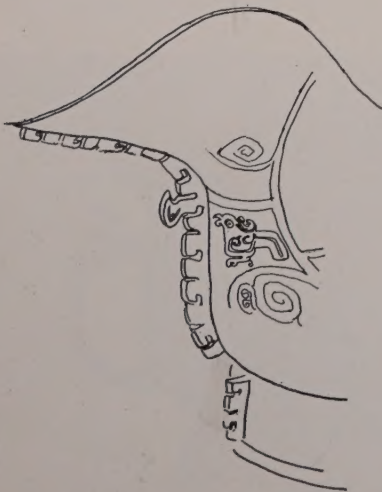


FIG. 13. — SHANG. — *Kuang*, bronze. — Winthrop Collection, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.



FIG. 14. — EARLY CHOU. — *Kuang*, bronze. — C. T. Loo Collection, New York.

indicated only by the beak while the other was completely delineated; through the jade (Fig. 10) where the complete marsupial bird was depicted; finally to the two Winthrop *kuang* (Figs. 12 and 13) where the forward bird was reduced to a beak while the other remained complete. The results of this study point out the liberties taken by the early Chinese craftsman with his vocabulary of symbols. By a selection of parts of a symbol he was able to imply the whole; by showing a beak he indicated the bird. By understanding this creative process we are able to recognize

5. A reptilian animal appearing with its head above the bird may represent the animal holding the bird's head. This representation also appears on jades; cf. SALMONY, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI, nos. 4 and 6.

(Fig. 12).⁵ On another *kuang* in the Winthrop Collection the motive appears in a similar position (Fig. 13). Here, however, the reduced bird is represented only by a vestigial axe-shaped beak jutting out from an even flange. So reduced has the motive become that it can now be recognized only through comparison with more complete examples.

We have followed the variations of this motive full circle: from the Freer *kuei* (Fig. 9) where the dominant bird was in-



FIG. 15. — SHANG. — *Kuang*, bronze. — Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. — Courtesy of the Freer Gallery.

symbols and relationships previously obscured by an artistic shorthand.

From this point of view it is possible to link together other seemingly diverse elements. Turning back to our original motive, the bird-in-the-animal-mouth, we discover further ramifications. This motive frequently occurs at the back end of the covers of *kuang*. In the classic example (Fig. 14) almost the complete bird emerges from the mouth of a ram. We do not find any transitional stages between this and the simple beak held in the animal mouth (Fig. 15). At times, however, as in the large *kuang* in the Freer Gallery and in one of the two *kuang* in the Winthrop Collection, the animal mask is replaced by a complete owl mask. Despite the absence of any intermediate examples, the parallel with the motive on handles is so close that it seems justifiable to regard the beak as the symbol of the whole bird.

The same bird-in-the-animal-mouth motive appears on the covers of owl *yu* and simple *yu*. An excellent example of the former type is in the Winthrop Collection (Fig. 16). Each side of this vessel



FIG. 17. — SHANG OR EARLY CHOU. — *Yu*, bronze. — Murayama Collection, Sumioshi, Japan.



FIG. 16. — SHANG. — Cover of an owl *Yu*, bronze. — Winthrop Collection, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

represents the body of the owl, while on each side of the cover is a ram's head from the mouth of which protrudes the owl's beak. Another common variation is exemplified in a *yu* in the Murayama Collection, Sumioshi, Japan (Fig. 17). The body of this *yu*, instead of representing an owl, is covered with various zoomorphic forms, yet the cover, at each end, again represents the ram's head from which the bird's beak extends. It is interesting to find the final degradation of this motive on an important *yu* (Fig. 18) which embodies the transitional aesthetic between Early and Middle



FIG. 18. — EARLY CHOU. — *Yu*, bronze. — Winthrop Collection, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

Chou. The beak, having lost all meaning, has become a decorative ornament turning up at each end of the lid. Even the animal head has disappeared.

Keeping in mind what we have learned about the "marsupial bird", namely, that either bird may be reduced to a mere beak, we turn to another aspect of the bird-in-the-animal-mouth. An entire series of double owl *yu* is characterized by covers which, instead of the beak in the animal mouth, are composed of an owl head with ram's horns (Fig. 19). A typical feature in Shang and Early Chou art was the equipment of birds with a variety of animal horns which at times have been mistaken for crests. These

horns are identical with those found on animals and are recognizable as the horns of rams, bulls, water buffaloes, or as the undefined "bottle" horns.

The anomaly of a bird with animal horns warrants consideration. The key object in this category is a bird vessel in the Chicago Art Institute (Figs. 20 and 21). Miss Florance Waterbury has already shown⁶ that the head of this vessel, which casually appears to be solely that of a bird with "bottle" horns, is actually a bird's head capped by an animal mask to which the horns belong. This again is precisely the motive we have been studying—the bird-in-the-animal-mouth—only here the animal mask is sculpturally so subordinated to the bird that the total effect is that of a horned bird.

By analogy with the stenographic process we have been considering, it seems

6. FLORANCE WATERBURY, *Early Chinese symbols and literature: Vestiges and speculations*, New York, 1942, p. 117, pl. 8.

possible that all horned birds actually may represent our original motive: the bird-in-the-animal-mouth. In such cases the animal would have been reduced to one of its basic and distinctive elements—the horns. If this is true, the bird-in-the-animal-mouth becomes quantitatively the most important of all motives on Chinese ritual bronzes.

This juxtaposition, in which one zoomorphic form is enveloped by or superimposed upon another, is not restricted to birds and horned animals. Human beings, cicadas, and snakes are also represented in animal mouths. The Freer



FIG. 19 — SHANG. — Owl Yu, bronze. — Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery.



FIG. 20. — SHANG OR EARLY CHOU. — Bird vessel, bronze. — Buckingham Collection. — Courtesy of the Art Institute, Chicago.

kuei even has a human head between the legs of the smaller bird on the handle (Fig. 9). What relation these motives have with the bird-in-the-animal-mouth is another problem.⁷

In this analysis no mention has been made of the dates of the bronzes. All examples referred to have been Shang or Early Chou. The representational and abbreviated exam-

7. Possibly related to these motives is the representation of birds with dagger-axes superimposed on their heads; cf. SALMONY, *op. cit.*, p. 32; pl. XVIII, nos. 2 and 7.

ples obviously were produced simultaneously. By the end of Early Chou the motive was practically extinct.

Confucius, living in the VI Century B.C., only a few centuries after the times discussed in this article, is quoted as having said:

"How can we talk about the ritual of the Hsia? 'The State of Ch'i supplies no adequate evidence. How can we talk about the ritual of Yin [Shang]? 'The State of Sung supplies no adequate evidence. For there is a lack of documents and of learned men. But for this lack we should be able to obtain evidence from these two States."

The bronzes that date from Confucius' time betray an entirely different culture than that manifested by the more ancient vessels of Shang and Early Chou. The architectural majesty of form and awesome power of symbol had given way to a rococo fantasy. Perhaps Confucius had never seen an authentic bronze of the earlier periods. It is almost certain that he did not know the oracle bones of the Shang dynasty which are the earliest known written records of China. We of the present century, 2500 years later, have more material at hand with which we may try to recreate the culture of early China. With all our advantages the path forward must be approached, as the *Shih Ching* says, "fearfully and cautiously as if peering down a deep abyss, as if walking on thin ice."

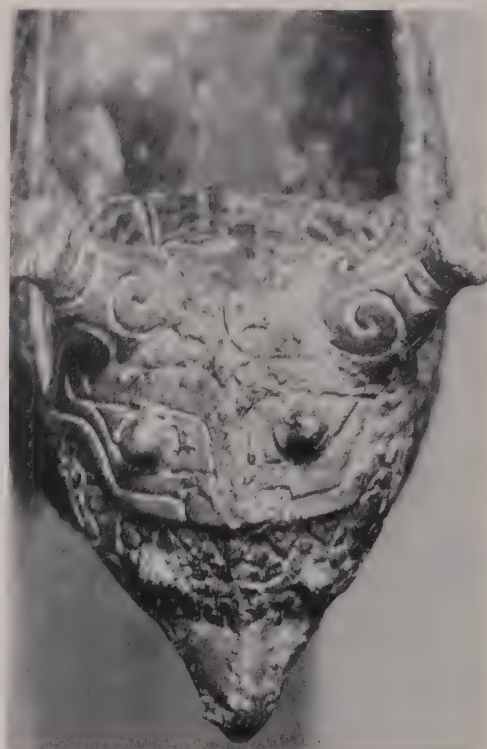
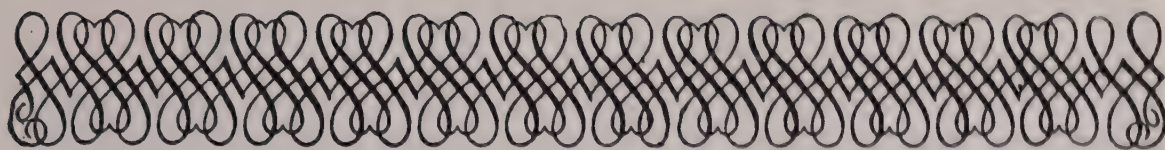


FIG. 21. — SHANG OR EARLY CHOU. — Bird vessel, bronze. — Buckingham Collection. Detail (see Fig. 20).

J. LEROY DAVIDSON.





THE DE PASS ILLUSTRATIONS OF OVID

IN the year 1677 there was published a folio volume which has claims to being considered one of the most beautifully illustrated works of the entire century. Its full title is: "*Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide . . . De la Traduction de Mr. Pierre Du-Ryer Parisien . . .*" A Bruxelles, chez François Foppens, 1677.

This is not the place to discuss the merits of the Sieur Du-Ryer as a scholar and translator, nor to speak of the production and typography of the book, save to say that it is a very distinguished example of XVII century printing. Its main interest for us here lies in the illustrations, 110 in number and of almost uniform size, the average being $6\frac{1}{4}$ by 9 inches.

These 110 illustrations, all examples of line engraving on copper, though uniform in size and subject matter, are extraordinarily different in merit. Something like the half of them are of scarcely any interest at all; but the remainder show a very high level of competence, and among them are to be found certain pieces which for brilliance of conception and execution must definitely be ranked among the masterpieces of line engraving.

The historians of the line-engraver's art have, for one reason or another, neglected the beauties of this highly important work and, with the exception of the Frankens catalogue of the De Pass family, references to it have been few and not particularly informative. One may venture to guess the reason for this neglect. The book as a whole is a publisher's haphazard venture containing plates from

several different sources and of different periods. No mention is made anywhere of the engravers' names except in the case of those who happen to be the least worthy of mention; the names of those who created the finest plates—some of them, as has been said, ranking as masterpieces—have been left to inference and guess-work. The obscurity veiling the whole subject is not likely ever to be illuminated by complete certainty, but an attempt may be made here to examine the position and perhaps to establish something more definite than has passed muster hitherto.

At first glance it is evident that these engravings must be divided into at least two sections or families. The first of these is in style and sentiment to be dated from about the year 1620, whereas the second class is quite obviously later in date and may be taken as contemporary with the publication of the book, namely 1677. It is this latter class which has, in some cases, the names of the engravers inscribed on the plates. They are the brothers Martin and Pierre Paul Bouche, and F. Bouttats, practitioners in the pompous post-Rubens manner, whose sole value consists in showing to what lamentable depths of decadence the Antwerp school had sunk in the second half of the XVII century. These account for nearly half the plates and, once mentioned, need not be referred to again.

To the remaining plates, dating mostly from about 1620 (though there are a few of no great importance which are perhaps intermediate in date), the only guide that has so far been furnished us is the work of D. Frankens who, in his *L'Oeuvre Gravé des Van de Pass*, Amsterdam 1881, describes fifteen of the plates as being by Magdalena de Pass, though with doubts as to three of them. He also suggests the possibility of other members of the De Pass family having contributed to some of the plates, but he does not go further than that. On what ground he gives these plates to Magdalena, whether it be written evidence which he has not published or whether his conclusions are based purely on questions of style, must remain in doubt. It may be conjectured that, having established the certainty that one plate, a particularly fine one, the *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* (page 121 in the book) is by Magdalena, he concluded that fifteen of the plates, akin to this one in style and of superior merit, must be by the same hand. These conclusions must be submitted to some critical examination, but before doing so a few words about the de Pass family might be welcome.

The late XVI and early XVII centuries were remarkable for a large number of engravers' families, a phenomenon which became much rarer in subsequent periods. Students of the art of engraving are sufficiently familiar with the Hondius, Wierix, Sadeler and Kilian families, to mention only some of the best known. The De Pass family belongs to the same company.

Crispin de Pass, also sometimes known as Van de Pass, Pas or Passe, was the founder of the family firm. He was born in Zeeland between 1565 and 1570 but



FIG. 1. — Magdalena de Pass, after Elsheimer. — Latona.

left his home as a youth, presumably because of the Spanish and religious troubles in the Netherlands, and first appears as an engraver in Cologne. In 1612, peace and order having been in the meantime established in the Netherlands, he migrated to Utrecht and worked there until his death in 1637. His three sons, Crispin the Second, Simon and William, and his daughter Magdalena worked in the family establishment, and one hears of a grandson, Crispin the Third.

The relations of the younger generation to the father must be kept in mind. Crispin the Elder was the founding element, an excellent engraver and, when not engaged in semi-mechanical tasks, a lively and original artist. But, as the best way for an engraver to earn a living in those days was by the production of large quantities of instructive, religious and purely topical prints, Crispin, like many others, soon found himself at the head of a sort of domestic factory in which his



FIG. 2. — Crispin de Pass, after Adrian van de Venne. — A detail from "Atalanta's Race". — *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Brussels, Foppens, 1677.

children and doubtlessly apprentices, and paid assistants, took on their share of the work. Thus the work of the three sons and Magdalena, as long as they were in the paternal house, is to some extent to be merged in the anonymous mass of the De Pass establishment. When the sons grew older, they travelled further afield, to

London and Paris and elsewhere, and the engraved portraiture of the early Stuart period in England is enriched by the work of Simon and William, particularly the former. Magdalena (born 1600, died on or before 1640) seems to have married in Utrecht and spent her life there.

Although the work of the three sons, branching out into something like an individuality of their own, is competent and valuable, this is the highest praise to which it is entitled. But of Crispin the father, more may be said. The best of his work, when we disentangle it from the bulk of the semi-commercial production much of which was inevitably carried out by assistants, shows a very strong and engaging individuality. The drawing is charming and spirited, often with a real sense of humour, and there is a feeling of reality about it which is shown by none of the other great engraver clans.

It was an interesting period, this first quarter of the XVII century. Without exactly making a break with the late Renaissance mode of perception which had overwhelmed the Netherlands in the XVI century, something new and vivid and unexpected comes creeping into the new art. It is the national trait of realism reasserting itself after a century of Italianizing influences, and it shows itself not so much in the Southern Netherlands, where Rubens merely brings the Renaissance to its culmination, as in the newly liberated provinces which we now call

Holland. It was the parting of the ways—the year 1610 may be suggested as an approximate date—when the art of the Netherlands split into two distinct elements, Flemish art and Dutch art.

In the field of engraving, Crispin de Pass was one of the earliest and most striking interpreters of the new trend. He never went much beyond the beginnings. His genius is akin to that of Buytewegh and Vinkenboons and Van de Venne, whose work he occasionally engraved. He neither lived to see, nor approached in feeling, the culmination of Dutch art in the middle of the century. But just these early days of the new movement were the ones to produce qualities not to be found in the later and better known period when Rembrandt and Vermeer and Ruysdael were in their prime. There is a certain freshness and vigor

in Holland about 1620, an elegance in the interpretation of human figures and an air of mystery about the landscape, which gradually becomes lost as the completely realist taste of the burgher citizens of the Dutch republic gains ground.

It may seem exaggerated to speak of a mere engraver—a translator of the work of other artists—as taking an important part in an artistic change of direction. But we have to realize the nature of engraving at this particular time. It was not, it is true, equal in value to the original line engravings of the period of Durer and Lucas van Leyden; but it was very far from being the mere transcription which we get in the following generation, with Soutman and Suyderhoef, in the Netherlands, and Nanteuil and Masson, in France, although the latter were artists of consummate skill. The engraving of Crispin de Pass



FIG. 3. — Magdalena de Pass, after Elsheimer. — A detail from *Latona*.

stood halfway between the two. This was, generally, not entirely original art, though some of it was certainly interpreted work in which the originality of the engraver had full play, so that he really made his own creation out of the design from which he worked.

A close study of the authenticated work of the elder De Pass will give a very clear idea of his individual style, so clear indeed as to be almost unmistakable. By this criterion, there can be no doubt that a certain number of the plates in the Foppens *Metamorphoses* are important and typical examples of the work of the elder Crispin de Pass, free from external assistance. Such are those which are reproduced here (Figs. 2, 4 and 6). A long series of others may be tentatively accepted as belonging to his atelier, that is to say, as having been engraved by him and his assistants; among these were perhaps sundry members of his family. A larger number seem merely to fall into the possibility of coming from his atelier, and here the element of doubt is stronger.

There, finally, remains the question as to what is and what is not the work of Magdalena. Here, very fortunately, we have two *points d'appui* which lead directly to definite conclusions. The first is the engraving of *Latona* after Elsheimer, Frankens 978 (Figs. 1 and 3), and the other is the *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* after Pinas, Frankens 979. Both were published in the engraver's lifetime and fully inscribed with name of painter and engraver. The *Salmacis*, dated



FIG. 4. — Crispin de Pass after Adrian van de Venne. — Detail from *Narcissus*. — *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Brussels, Foppens, 1677.

1623, is actually included in Foppens' *Metamorphoses of Ovid* and this reprint, over fifty years later than the original publication, is shorn of its entire inscription, either in order to conform its size to the others or to have Foppens' customers conceal that they were being served with "antiquated" goods.



FIG. 5. — Magdalena de Pass. — Detail from *Pyramus and Thisbe*. — *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Brussels, Foppens, 1677.

from Elsheimer. Magdalena's treatment of foliage differs from that of Goudt, whose power of instilling a certain massive formality into his shapes, places that unhappy genius beyond a peer. Hers is lighter, gayer, almost feathery in substance, with a singular charm of its own (Figs. 1, 3, 5, 7 and 8).

The bulk of Magdalena's work, known to us through her signed plates, is not of particularly outstanding interest, and falls largely into the practice of the De Pass family tradition. It is therefore of importance to establish exactly what plates are to be assigned to her when she was working in this individual style of her own. There can be no doubt that out of Franken's fifteen attributions to Magdalena in the *Metamorphoses*, seven,

These two prints are the clue to the situation. Accepting them, which in view of the inscriptions we may well do, as the undoubted work of Magdalena, we find elements in them that are so individual and so unlike anything to be found either among the other De Pass's or anywhere else, that the personal style of Magdalena is thereby at once established. It is the landscape element that gives the keynote, a remarkably sensitive and delicate arrangement of trees and fronds of luxurious vegetation. There is nothing in the least like it anywhere, although it derives obviously enough from Count Goudt (it must not be forgotten that the latter worked in Utrecht), and ultimately



FIG. 6. — Crispin de Pass, after Adrien van de Venne. — Detail from *Circe changing Pegasus into a bird*. — *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Brussels, Foppens, 1677.

at any rate, may unhesitatingly be accepted. They are those on pages 25, 77, 96, 109, 121, 139 and 233 of the Foppens volume, and all of them, with the exception of the plate on page 139, are masterpieces. Of the eight remaining plates of Frankens' list those which portray foliage in a different style from Magdalena's may definitely be ruled out, while those which contain no foliage at all must remain *not proven*.

It should be added that in one of the plates which are not mentioned by Frankens, the *Pygmalion* plate on page 322 (Fig. 9), the modelling of the head of the statue shows much affinity to the delicate, sensitive modelling of the head of *Thisbe* plate on page 109 (Fig. 5), which is undoubtedly by Magdalena. Thus one feels strongly inclined to accept this plate as well. If so, the *Juno and Semele*, plate 88 (Fig. 10), must follow in its train, and this has been ascribed by Frankens to Magdalena "or perhaps to William". But these last two attributions lack the certainty of the first seven.

Having now established a method for basing our attributions, it will be possible to draw up a list of all those plates in the *Metamorphoses* which approach the style of the De Pass atelier. Obviously this is in some cases merely tentative, and the suggestion of names for some of the artists who furnished the designs is equally so. But it is a beginning, and it may lead to more definite information in the future.



FIG. 7. — Magdalena de Pass, probably after Adrian van de Venne. — Detail from Apollo and Daphne. — *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Brussels, Foppens, 1677.

(The pages refer to the pages in the Foppens volume):

P. 14. *Lycaon transformed into a wolf*. — Crispin (or possibly Magdalena) de Pass.

P. 25. *Apollo and Daphne* (Fig. 7.) — Magdalena de Pass (in Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena), probably after Van de Venne.

P. 34. *Pan and Syrinx*. — De



FIG. 8. — Magdalena de Pass, probably after Elsheimer. — Detail from *Cephalus and Procris*. — *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Brussels, Foppens, 1677.

P. 63. *Coronis shot by Apollo*.—Probably Crispin de Pass, after Adrian van de Venne.

P. 71. *Pallas and Aglaura*.—De Pass studio.

P. 77. *Rape of Europa*.—Magdalena de Pass, perhaps after Adrian van de Venne. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena.)

P. 83. *Diana and Actaeon*.—Perhaps De Pass studio.

P. 88. *Jupiter and Semele* (Fig. 10).—Perhaps Magdalena de Pass. (In

Pass studio.

P. 36. *Juno and the Argus eyes*.—Crispin (or possibly Magdalena) de Pass (in Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena).

P. 39. *Phaeton and his father*.—Perhaps De Pass studio.

P. 56. *Diana and Calisto*.—Perhaps De Pass studio, probably after Moses van Uytenbroek.



FIG. 9. — Magdalena de Pass (?). — Detail from *Pygmalion and the Statue*. — *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Brussels, Foppens, 1677.

Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena).

P. 96. *Narcissus*.—Magdalena de Pass. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena.)

P. 109. *Pyramus and Thisbe* (Fig. 5).—Magdalena de Pass. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena.)

P. 121. *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*.—Magdalena de Pass (in Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena), after Pinas; published with name of painter and engraver in 1623 and here reprinted with text cut off.

P. 133. *Cadmus and Hermione*.—De Pass studio, probably after Adrian van de Venne.

P. 139. *Perseus and Andromeda*.—Magdalena de Pass. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena.)

P. 159. *Pluto wounded by Cupid*.—Perhaps de Pass studio.

P. 161. *Rape of Proserpine*.—De Pass studio.

P. 173. *Lyncus changed into a lynx*.—De Pass studio.

P. 193. *Teres and Philomela*.—De Pass studio.

P. 233. *Cephalus and Procris* (Fig. 8).—Magdalena de Pass (in Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena), perhaps after Elsheimer.

P. 238. *Cephalus and Procris in the wood*.—De Pass studio. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena, with doubt.)

P. 241. *Minos and Scylla*.—Magdalena de Pass (in Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena), perhaps after Adrian van de Venne.

P. 252. *Meleager and the boar*.—De Pass studio. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena.)

P. 261. *The story of the Naiades*.—Perhaps De Pass studio.

P. 275. *The Naiades and the horn of plenty*.—Perhaps Crispin de Pass.

P. 279. *Nessus and Dejanira*.—Perhaps Crispin de Pass.

P. 293. *Biblis in her chamber*.—Crispin or Magdalena de Pass.

P. 307. *Eurydice stung by a sergent*.—Perhaps Crispin de Pass.

P. 309. *Orpheus in the underworld*.—Crispin de Pass.

P. 312. *Orpheus*.—Perhaps De Pass studio.

P. 313. *Cyparissus changed into a cypress*.—De Pass studio.

P. 315. *Ganymede and a dog* (Fig. 4).—Crispin de Pass, after Adrian van de Venne.

P. 317. *Death of Hyacinth*.—De Pass studio.

P. 322. *Pygmalion and the statue* (Fig. 9).—Perhaps Magdalena de Pass.

P. 332. *Venus and Adonis*.—De Pass studio.

P. 335. *Atalanta's race* (Fig. 2).—Crispin de Pass, after Adrian van de Venne. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena.)



FIG. 10. — Magdalena de Pass (?). — Jupiter disguised as an old woman and Semele. — *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Brussels, Foppens, 1677.

P. 341. *Death of Adonis*.—Perhaps De Pass studio. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena.)

P. 372. *Aesacus and Hesperie*.—De Pass studio.

P. 413. *Sacrifice of Polyxena*.—De Pass studio.

P. 424. *Acis and Galatea*.—Perhaps De Pass studio.

P. 446. *Circe changing Ulysses' companions into swine*.—De Pass studio.

P. 449. *Circe changing Picus into a bird* (Fig. 6).—Crispin de Pass, after Adrian van de Venne. (In Frankens' catalogue: Magdalena.)

P. 454. *A shepherd changed into an olive tree*.—De Pass studio.

P. 462. *Vertumnus and Pomona*.—One of the De Pass family, probably after Abraham Bloemart.

P. 466. *Anaxaretus changed into stone*.—Perhaps Crispin de Pass.

It remains for us finally to account for the genesis of Foppens' publication. Between 1623, the date of one of the earlier plates and the approximate date of all the early series, and 1677, the date of publication of the book and approximate date of the later plates, there lies a clear half century. It is a half century of such intense artistic development that it might almost be said that the world had grown different in that time. Rubens had come and gone, so had Rembrandt. The great school of Flanders had sank to an ignominious end, and that of Holland was fast doing so, to be supplanted by the pompous emptiness with which the court art of Louis XIV was flooding Europe. What possible interest could people in 1677, now well accustomed to the *grand style*, have in the fresh and lively, often naively

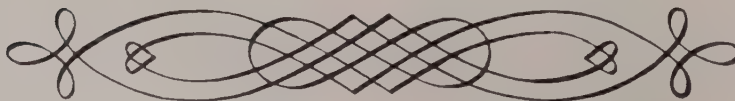
comic (Figs. 2 and 4) vision of an earlier age? Probably the answer is simple enough. Foppens must have bought up a whole series of disused plates emanating from the old De Pass stock in trade and, finding them in excellent condition, proceeded to use them in his publication, supplementing them with a large number of plates of the same size made by the Bouches and other hack engravers whom he employed. The mixture is like that of oil and water. But what the early plates were originally for and why they were not published at the time they were made remains a mystery.

We may conjecture that the De Pass house planned a great publication of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and had plates executed by Crispin, the head of the firm, Magdalena and others in the firm's workshop, using possibly also some by outside engravers. It may be, furthermore, assumed that the plan came to nothing and that the plates remained unpublished until, many years later, they fell into Foppens' hands.

To Foppens, whatever may have been his intentions, the print lover's gratitude is due for having rescued from destruction and given to the light of day some of the best works of old Crispin de Pass and such a series from the almost unknown Magdalena as will suffice to place her among the world's most gifted and charming engravers.¹

HENRY REITLINGER.

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THE LAST PRINCE OF URBINO

IT RARELY happens in portraits of an early period that the personality represented is as fascinating to us as the art of the painter. One of these rare instances occurs, however, in two child portraits, formerly in the Dan Fellows Platt collection, which have been recently presented to the Detroit museum (Figs. 1 and 2).¹ They are excellent examples of the work of Federigo Barocci (1526/28 — 1612), the well known painter of the early Baroque who was pre-eminent in Central Italy. At the same time, the young Prince Federigo della Rovere of Urbino whom they represent, had such an unusual life story that it would be worth while to recall it even if we did not have the portraits before us.

The two portraits are dated 1605 and 1606, the first giving the boy's age in an inscription across the top as eighteen months, the second as two years. They were painted by Barocci at the end of his long career and at the beginning of the baroque age. According to his birth date Barocci belongs to the High Renaissance, for he is contemporary with Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, born in the same year as the latter. He knew Michelangelo personally and had been encouraged by him when he went to Rome in his youth. But Rome, with its atmosphere of forceful, dramatic and monumental art, was not the place for this Umbrian from Urbino, the birthplace of Raphael. He possessed the lyrical and tender qualities characteristic of the Umbrians and although he made a reputation in Rome, he felt happier in his homeland and

1. Measurements: 25 by 37 in. Presented to the Detroit Institute of Arts by Robert H. Tannahill.

returned there to remain in Urbino the rest of his life, the external cause for leaving Rome being an attempt by jealous colleagues to poison him.

Impressed more by Correggio than by Michelangelo, he strove for the ecstatic expression, the chiaroscuro and delicate modelling and the exaggerated foreshortenings which Correggio employed. But his chief desire was to rival him as a colorist and he came near to him in sweetness and subtlety of shades; but he nevertheless developed his own color style, combining blue and yellow, pink and pale green in a mother-of-pearl effect which reminds us more of certain Northern baroque paintings than of the Italian Renaissance. Rubens was greatly influenced in his early work by Barocci, who was still alive when the Antwerp master came to Italy. So strong is this influence that in the history of painting Barocci has been called the most important link between Michelangelo and Rubens.

Van Dyck too learned from Barocci, as these two child portraits show. It is hardly accidental that they remind us of Van Dyck's pictures of Genoese children, like those from the Widener Collection in the National Gallery, Washington, D. C., which were executed less than twenty years later. The baroque age was the great age of the realistic child portrait, whose beginnings go back to the XV Century. Its leading masters, however, are not Italians but Northerners — Rubens, Van Dyck, Frans Hals and Rembrandt. But, as in other fields, these masters were stimulated by what Italian artists had initiated. Even Frans Hals' early groups of children like that in the Brussels museum (painted about 1615), go back directly or indirectly to Southern influence in their composition. Barocci's paintings of this type stand at the beginning of this new development towards a completely natural, unaffected representation of the child, regardless of its social position.

Compared to the XVI Century child portraits of Bronzino, for instance, we see here for the first time children who move about indifferent to the spectator, interested only in themselves and their toys. What a difference from the cold and courtly attitude of Bronzino's Medici princes, who pose as if they were obliged to impress their servants or future subjects! Even Titian's children appear self-conscious and aware of the high social position of their parents, compared to Barocci's little prince.

The coloristic quality of the two portraits is at the same time a reaction against the manneristic and rigid designs of Michelangelo's followers. In the combination of the glowing carmine of the dresses, the silvery brocades of the sleeves and stockings, and the white in the lace, they incline towards the Venetian style, whereas the delicate grayish modelling of the faces points to Correggio.

Barocci, unlike Bronzino, was by profession neither court nor portrait painter. His task was to paint altarpieces for Umbrian churches. His portraits are rare and date mostly from his later period. Perhaps for this reason they are more spontaneous than those of the Florentine master who repeated his formula over and over. When an heir was born to the Duke of Urbino, Barocci was selected as the best painter in the state to paint his portrait. The sweet features of the boy were very congenial to

the engaging art of the master, who painted him more than once and as it seems with the love and understanding of child life which old age often feels.

* * *

Seldom had the birth of a young prince been received by the populace with greater joy. If we are surprised to find that so enlightened a people as the Italians of the Renaissance were happy under the rule of an absolute monarchy, we must realize the patriarchal character of these rulers and their understanding of the material as well as of the cultural needs of the people. When Francesco Maria II began his reign in 1572, the Montefeltro and della Rovere families had governed in Urbino for almost two hundred years. No one in this happy mountain country

with its beautiful castles and fertile valleys bordering the Adriatic had seriously contested their rule during this period. And had it not been for foreign powers — mainly those of the Popes and of the grand dukes of Tuscany — the dukes of Urbino might have reigned as long as did the Medici in Florence. It was not the people, but Duke Francesco Maria himself who brought about the end of the monarchy, after the premature death of his son, Federigo, in whose favor he had virtually abdicated. He delivered his state to the secular power of the Pope and retired in a Roman convent, where he died ten years later in 1631.

It was perhaps the failure of his domestic life more than anything else which



FIG. 1. — FEDERIGO BAROCCI. — Prince Federigo of Urbino. — Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit. Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.

induced him to abdicate after a long and fruitful reign. His first wife was Lucretia d'Este, who, with her sister Leonora, was the beloved friend of the unhappy Torquato Tasso, both sisters well known from Goethe's drama. The marriage was arranged by the Duke's father after Francesco Maria had returned from the Spanish court of Philip II where he had learned the severe principles of rulership which he followed all his life. The subordination of his own wishes to the interest of the state was one of these principles. In Spain he had fallen in love with a woman of lesser rank, but found it necessary to follow his father's advice. In his diary, in which he always speaks of himself in the third person, he remarks: "Finally the Duke decided upon his marriage with Donna Lucrezia d'Este, sister of Alfonso, the last duke of Ferrara, which took place though little to his taste; for she was old enough to have been his mother".

This is slightly exaggerated as Lucretia was only thirteen years his senior. The marriage was without children. After the death of the Duchess in 1597, the Duke did not intend to marry again. But whenever he appeared in public, the people received him with cries of "*Serenissimo, Moglie*" ("Your Highness, get a wife"). The populace was obviously more interested in the continuation of the monarchy than the Duke himself. At last he took the necessary steps. "Moved by the unremitting entreaties of my subjects", he writes in a letter to the Archduchess Maria of Austria, "I have been forced to establish myself by a new alliance; yet as my age and other considerations would have prevented me from taking this resolution but for their satisfaction, I have chosen to combine with their wishes a due consideration for my own by selecting one of my proper blood, and brought up in this country, in whom are combined many of the qualities suited to my views".

Francesco Maria chose for his wife a niece, Livia della Rovere, who had been brought up at the convent of St. Caterina at Pesaro. She was fourteen years of age at the time. It may have been partly due to this blood relationship, partly to the unequal age of the parents, that Federigo, the only child born to them, was of an extremely delicate constitution. When the marriage took place in April 1599, the joy among the populace was great. The churches were filled and all the world prayed for an heir to the throne. St. Ubaldo, the patron saint of Urbino, however, took his time before granting the prayer. Not until six years later when the Duchess had reached the age of twenty, did it become known that she expected a child. On May 16, 1605, the Duke appeared at the window of the Palace and announced to the people, "God has vouchsafed a boy".

A frenzy of enthusiasm gripped the people not only in Urbino but in all the towns of the state. When the courier arrived with the news in Gubbio, he found the entire populace assembled in arms in the piazza with the magistrate at its head. There a new chapel commemorative of the occasion was erected and an altarpiece was ordered representing the Virgin and child with saints and below it the courier's arrival with the ducal despatch. Similar excitement took place in St. Angelo in Vado

where a sum was raised for the erection of an altar painting, which, however, was not finished until the prince was five years old. He appears here in a richly embroidered dress and is presented to the Madonna by St. Ubaldo.

In June 1605 the Duchess made a pilgrimage of thanks to the Madonna of Loreto, carrying the child with her. She devoted to the Virgin a plate of solid gold on which was portrayed — as we learn from a contemporary writer, the librarian of the Duke — the likeness of the Duke “in oil by a young pupil of Barocci. The infant prince, who is one of the most lovely babes I should wish to look upon; fat, of good complexion and comely features, his eyes large and black, unlike those of the Duke, and his mouth resembling his mother’s”. When the



FIG. 2. — FEDERIGO BAROCCI. — Prince Federico of Urbino. — Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit. *Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.*

Duchess returned to Urbino she was met at the gate by twelve youths in blue damask trimmed with gold, and twenty-four children in white and gold; and the Prince with his nurse was borne by these youths in a closed chair to the palace through streets embellished with fountains and other decorations.

Although the Duke did not care for celebrations and pageants, the baptism of the child on November 29 was celebrated with exceptional pomp. Congratulations and gifts poured in from all over Italy; Philip III of Spain, represented by the Marquis of Pescara, stood god-father to the infant, while the father on that occasion received the order of the Golden Fleece. The description of the many processions,

pageants, allegorical representations and other festivities during these days fills pages in contemporary sources.

It must have been soon afterwards that Federigo Barrocci received the order to execute a portrait of the young prince in his cradle. The painting — one of the most popular in the Pitti Palace — shows the child swathed in exquisite linen and covered by a piece of blue and gold brocade (Fig 4). A charming study for the head of the child is among the drawings at Windsor Castle (Fig. 3).



FIG. 3. — FEDERIGO BAROCCI. — Prince Federigo, drawing. — Windsor Castle, Windsor, England.

When the boy was four years old, a bride was selected for him by his father. After an elaborate correspondence between the house of Medici in Florence and the Duke of Urbino, Claudia, the daughter of Grand Duke Ferdinand II, became the bride at the age of four and a half years. She sent to her "husband" the appropriate presents of a nicely accoutred pony, a poodle taught to leap, a jackdaw, and so that the boy should not forget the teachings of the holy church even when spilling his ink — an inkstand in the form of Mount Calvary.

The child developed into a handsome and intelligent youth. He is described as having a fine temper, a remarkably quick apprehension and an uncommon memory, but, unfortunately, his education was such to spoil even the best character. He was not allowed playmates but was surrounded by courtiers who flattered him and by elderly women who impressed upon him the importance of the Spanish etiquette which ruled the court. The boy, whose temperament speaks in the vivid eyes and lively gestures of our paintings, resented this treatment and with his childish pranks tried to upset the silent and cold atmosphere of the court. That he was actually of an evil or even diabolical character, as we are told in popular books, may well be questioned.

James Dennistoun, in his *Memoirs of the Duke of Urbino* published in 1851, gives us a most detailed description of the life of the young prince, based upon a careful study of the sources. Unfortunately, the author has a Victorian standard of morals and is very much prejudiced against Federigo, while he pities the old Duke whom he compares to King Lear as the father of a most ungrateful son.

The proofs which he gives of the boy's so-called crimes make his judgment (which even the father does not seem to have shared) seem much too harsh, if not ridiculous. Dennistoun is rather annoyed that he cannot find any complaints in the

Duke's diary about his son's behavior. Francesco Maria abdicated in favor of his sixteen-year-old son: we cannot believe such a wise ruler would have done this had he been convinced that the boy was incorrigible. We should also remember that with the exception of two journeys to Florence to see his bride, Federigo rarely left the palace of Urbino, and therefore his sports with his comedians took place with the knowledge of the Duke and Duchess, who could easily have prevented it had they wished to do so. But let us hear in Dennistoun's own words what he has to say against the behavior of the Prince. We leave it to the reader to decide whether he is right or whether it would not be fairer to take a more human view of the youth's character.

"On his journey through Romagna towards Florence (to meet his future wife) Federigo's evil genius brought him into the company of some strolling comedians returning from Venice. Delighted with their loose manners, he threw himself among them without reserve and a taste for their pursuits was formed at first sight, which disgracefully occupied the few remaining years of his life . . ."



FIG. 4. — FEDERIGO BAROCCI. — Prince Federigo. — Pitti Palace, Florence.

"It would seem that up to his marriage he rarely left his parents' residence. During that time we find but two theatrical representations mentioned. In the carnival of 1617 nine couples of knights fought within a barrier, where there were also two chariots, one of Pallas, the other of Venus. The following year a wild boar, caught near Mondolfo, where it had attacked various peasants, was baited in the palace yard at Pesaro with

large dogs and spears; and some days thereafter the Prince with five others of his age, held a mimic tourney in the great hall".

"The melancholy turn which the Prince's folly had taken determined his unhappy parent at once to conclude his marriage, which, even should it unhappily fail in rescuing him from a disgraceful career, might at least secure the continuance of his family. The Princess had a character for high spirit, not free from hauteur, but accompanied with decided talent; qualities that seemed likely to influence her destined husband, or at all events to maintain his dignity against the debasing

tendency of dissolute habits. The intimate alliance with so powerful and so close a neighbor was in every view politic . . ."

To this description of the Princess's character by Dennistoun, let us add that although she may have been dignified, she was hardly a match for her temperamental young husband. In her portrait by Justus Sustermans (Fig. 6) she shows the long-drawn dull features of most of the Medici princesses. She was undoubtedly better suited to the Austrian Archduke Leopold with the ugly Hapsburg chin, whom she later married, than to the young, round-faced and gay Federigo. The marriage



FIG. 5. — JUSTUS SUSTERMANS. — Vittoria della Rovere. — Pitti Palace, Florence. Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.

took place in the autumn of 1621. How elaborate the preparations were, we learn from the itinerary of the Princess, who was received with festive decorations in every town on her way from the frontier to Urbino. In St. Angelo in Vado, for instance, a colossal equestrian statue of the Prince was constructed of wood, part of which still remains in the public hall of the town.

The marriage festivities were hardly over when Federigo devoted himself to his chief interest, the revival of the Comedy, which had been neglected at the court of Urbino during his father's reign. We must remember that it is in the lifetime of Shakespeare, when all the courts of Europe took delight in theatrical performances. As the prince obviously

had talent for dramatic acting, he frequently appeared on the stage, modestly taking subordinate parts. This behavior is beyond the comprehension of Mr. Dennistoun, who, although constantly quoting verses from Shakespeare, does not seem to be aware that the great poet himself belonged to the "vile class" of comedians with whom the young prince associated himself. The prince, as a matter of fact, selected for his theater Venetian actors who were considered the best in Italy.

"To enumerate the debasing excesses successively introduced by Federigo is a sad and sickening task", Dennistoun goes on to say, "which it were well briefly

to go through. His fancy for music was indulged to the exclusion of more serious avocations. His casual acquaintance with the company of Venetian comedians was ripened into an intimacy, which gradually monopolized his time and thoughts, and was followed out with frenzied enthusiasm. These persons, belonging then to the vilest classes and treated accordingly, became the Prince's associates in public and private. Conforming his morals to theirs, he admitted the actresses into his palace in daring defiance of decency and openly established one, named Argentina, as his mistress, feting her publicly in Pesaro and lavishing upon her large sums. Advancing from one extravagance to another, this petty Nero of a petty court delighted to bear a



FIG. 6. — JUSTUS SUSTERMANS. — Claudia de Medici. — Art History Museum, Vienna, Austria. Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts.

part in their dramatic representations before his own subjects, generally choosing the character of a servant or a lover, as most congenial to his degraded capacity. His people, imbued with respect for the traditionary glories of their former dukes and accustomed to the gravity of Spanish manners, stood in consternation at such spectacles".

We may well question this last statement, for the Italian people at this time (as at every other) enjoyed nothing more than a good comedy. But even more offensive to Mr. Dennistoun's prudishness than the joy which Federigo received from plays and music was the pleasure the young prince took in walking in disguise through the streets at night, entertaining himself in the manner of Shakespeare's young Henry IV. When he accuses Federigo of being so interested in horses that he himself at times took care of them, acting as farrier or stable-boy, he should however have blamed the father more than the son. For, in a letter of advice to his son reprinted by Dennistoun, the Duke says, "Practice all healthful exercises, especially ball, hunting and the manege. In the first of these you may indulge almost daily; for the second, once a week is sufficient, as it loses the entire day, and when too frequently followed is apt to render one coarse. Make use of the third when

you feel inclined, maintaining a small breeding stud, for which your country is admirably adapted, with about thirty-five horses always at your disposal . . .”

We add Mr. Dennistoun's shocked description of the prince's last adventures which brought about his early death. “The buffoonry the Prince had learned on the stage was carried into the streets, through which he sallied in some low disguise, insulting all and sundry, and striking them with the flat of his sword, till frequently obliged to discover himself to the astonished spectators. The time which he could spare from such ribaldry, and from his comedians, was devoted to the stable. Besides driving his own horses, an occupation in those stately days exclusively menial, he performed about them the vilest offices of farrier and stable-boy . . .”

“With a view to conciliate his mother-in-law, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany whose interference in behalf of her insulted daughter he had too good reason to anticipate, he prepared a magnificent coach and six costly horses as a present to her. On the 28th of June (1623) he acted as usual on the stage, the part which he sustained at this occasion being the degraded one of a packhorse, carrying about the comedians on his back, and finally kicking off a load of crockery with which he was laden. About midnight he retired to rest, worn out by this buffoonry, after giving orders for a chase next day at Piobbico near Castel Durante. At dawn hearing the clatter of the horses which were setting out for Florence, he rose and gave some orders from the window in his night dress. In the morning, his attendants surprised at not being summoned, and fearing he would be too late to attend mass before noon, knocked in vain at his door. Three hours passed away in doubts and speculations, and at length two of the courtiers burst open the door, exclaiming, ‘Up, Your Highness, ’tis time for the comedy’. But for him that hour was passed; the well known and welcome words fell on an ear whose silver cord was broken. His body was under the icy grip of death; his spirit had fled to its awful account . . . The body was discovered on its back, bleeding at the nose and mouth, the left hand under the pillow, one leg drawn up, and the mattress much discomposed. The Prince always slept alone and locked himself in, without retaining any attendants in the adjoining apartment. Six strangers, with the Tuscan accent, had been observed about the palace the day before. From these circumstances, and from his odious character, suspicions of foul play were entertained . . .”

Mr. Dennistoun, however, is of the opinion that the court astrologer Andrea Argoli was right in denying this possibility. After an elaborate calculation of the Prince's horoscope, he pronounced him to have died of an epileptic fit induced by the chill of the morning air; a conclusion — adds Dennistoun — “dictated no doubt by medical experience, rather than by the study of those malignant planetary influences which the quack thought fit to quote as decisive of the question”.

Thus ended the life of the last prince of Urbino. For this name may be given to Federigo, since his father had virtually abdicated in his favor in 1621, and after Federigo's death began at once the devolution of the state in favor of the Pope. That

the grandduke of Tuscany had expected to become the heir of the Duchy cannot be doubted, but all that he was able to secure were the private possessions of the Montefeltro and della Rovere families. Among them were some of the great masterpieces now shown in the Uffizi and Pitti Galleries, which came from collections in Urbino, such as the portraits of *Federigo di Montefeltro and his wife* by Piero della Francesca, of *Pope Julius II* by Raphael, the *Reclining Venus* and the *Bella* by Titian, the *Martyrdom of St. Agatha* by Sebastiano del Piombo, and the *Portrait of Francesco Maria* by Barocci.



FIG. 7. — FEDERIGO BAROCCI. — Nativity (detail). — Ambrosiana, Milan.

The Pope had made a secret compact with Duke Francesco Maria that in the absence of a male heir the Duchy should pass into possession of the Papacy. It will never be known whether the eighteen-year-old prince died a natural death or was murdered. One might think that the Tuscans had some kind of interest in his removal, for they may have been afraid that the Prince's love affair would end in an annulment of his marriage. But as we have seen, the turn of events was not favorable to such a calculation, if it ever existed as cause of his death. On the other hand it seems a strange irony of fate that the Prince who was so much disliked at the Tuscan court should

unknowingly be instrumental in the perpetuation of the house of the Medici, since after his death his daughter married the Grandduke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II, and became the mother of the later Grandduke, Cosmo III, who reigned from 1670 to 1723.

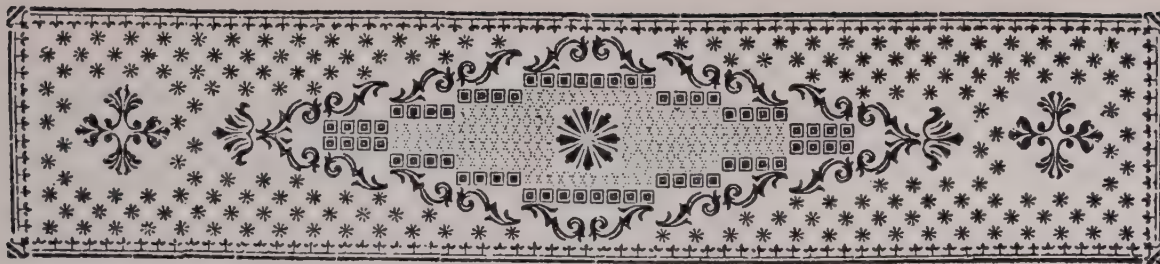
This daughter, Vittoria della Rovere, who was born to the seventeen-year-old couple in 1622, turned out to be much more like her father, although she inherited her full figure from the Medici. She developed into a fascinating voluptuous beauty with dark hair and eyes, full of temperament and gifted with poetic imagination. Justus Sustermans, the Flemish court painter, was inspired by her to a degree that we may ask whether there existed not more than a bond of friendship between the painter and his model. She is not only the subject of some of his best portraits (Fig. 5); but he used her frequently as a model for his finest religious and allegorical paintings — *The Holy Family* in which she appears as the Virgin, and the *Vestal Virgin*, both in the Pitti Palace, *St. Marguerite* in the Uffizi, *St. Helena* in the Corsini Palace in Rome, and others.

But while Vittoria is called by the biographer of Sustermans Pierre Bautier, "*douce et poétique figure de princesse reclue en ce milieu austère*", C. F. Young in his political history of the Medici judges her almost as severely as Dennistoun does Federigo of Urbino. After she had become the wife of the Grandduke Ferdinand II, in 1634, at the age of fourteen, "she proved", so says Young, "a most unsatisfactory wife to Ferdinand, and was a disappointment all through. She brought him neither the dowry of the Duchess of Urbino [as if this had been her fault] which had been the sole reason for his betrothal to her as a boy of twelve, nor did she make up for being a portionless bride by any qualities in her own character. She was foolish, vain, ignorant, and utterly frivolous".

Thus we see again that writers of political history are inclined to look with utter contempt upon those unfortunate beings who, by nature unconventional and emotional, happened to be born into a political atmosphere where only inhuman ambition is important. Although they tried only to live their own human and joyful life, they are scarcely granted the right of existence by these writers, compared with the statesmen in whose shadows they lived. Happily, the history of art judges from a different point of view and often preserves for the future the portraits of these modest human beings which give the artists who painted them and ourselves more enjoyment than the achievements of forgotten cold-blooded politicians.

WILLIAM R. VALENTINER.





BAROQUE AFTERPIECE

THE PICTURESQUE

NOT long after the opening of the XVIII Century Alessandro Magnasco must have painted his *Soldiers Playing Cards* (Fig. 1) : beneath a waterfall, in a savage ravine whose bank sweeps upward to the right, huddles a theatrical small group of outlaws engaged in no matter what. Overhead, torn chalky clouds fly pell-mell across the acid sky. Rugged trees writhe athwart the gully, accenting the anguished movement inward and upward. Amidst the shadows glimmer arbitrary little passages — rocks, foam, branches — touched with a thin impasto forecasting the impressionism of the XIX Century. Magnasco has exploited his “surface.” One’s eye is drawn with a velocity that may carry it even beyond the canvas itself. Here are illusion, surprise, suggestion — an instability of temperament expressing itself in a somewhat coarse sensibility of the retina. In short, Magnasco’s painting lies upon the boundary between the baroque of the XVII Century and the “picturesqueness”, or possibly “sublimity”, of the XVIII.

Magnasco does not occupy his equivocal position alone. With a number of similar painters he stands in a suggestive relationship to certain developments in the arts in England. The Italianate landscapes of Richard Wilson (Figs. 2 and 7), the titanic architecture of Vanbrugh, the magniloquence of John Philips’ georgic

verses, the operatic panoramas in the poetry of Thomson and Dyer, the definition of sublimity offered by Burke, or that of the picturesque by William Gilpin, Uvedale Price, or Richard Payne Knight, the vistas so artfully contrived at "improved" estates like Hagley or the Leasowes, the Gothic and Chinese designs of the Half-pennys, and the melodramatic settings of Mrs. Radcliffe's novels — all fall within a tradition that transmutes baroque to picturesque.

Recently critics of the fine arts have characterized the technique of the baroque: its concern with surface, its execution in chiaroscuro, its management of spatial effects, its atectonic patterns, and its emotional unity. Critics of literature have long concerned themselves with the picturesque and the sublime in XVIII Century England, and with their origin in painters like Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorrain, and the Poussins. Yet no one seems to have emphasized the relation of the picturesque to the baroque, or what this relationship means not only to the XVIII but to the XIX and even XX Centuries.

By examining so intently the significance of the picturesque (and the sublime) in the XVIII Century, one is likely to disregard a great rhythm in the arts in England — a baroque tradition with sundry modifications that extends from the XVII Century, or perhaps earlier, to the day when photographic naturalism, impressionism, and functionalism effect their revolution in post-romantic art. Further, "romanticism" itself appears in part to be a special deviation from the baroque; the XVIII Century appears more than ever superficially "classical", and then in a somewhat confined sense; the XVII Century appears in closer nexus with the XVIII than has been usual to observe; the rococo falls exactly into focus as an attenuated baroque. Briefly, the effort here is simply to throw the arts of XVIII Century England into more accurate perspective. The picturesque, a kind of sensibility peculiar to the XVIII Century, affords the most rewarding approach to this reinterpretation.

* * *

Wölfflin, who remains the most sympathetic interpreter of the complexities of baroque painting, speaks of the restlessness of the baroque consciousness that beholds the world as a "shifting semblance"; a consciousness expressing itself, as in Rembrandt or Claude, in values of "surface", in a "painterly" or *malerisch* instead of a "linear" treatment of substances, in a language of color rather than of "form". As in El Greco or in spectacularly frescoed baroque ceilings, a "disturbed equilibrium" and restlessness — distortion, agitation, and "recessional" composition — impel a "movement" that at times may project itself beyond the frame of reference; design becomes centrifugal or "open" rather than entirely self-contained. If there is unity in the baroque, it is likely to be a unity of mood; and "suggestion", as in the tumultuous, sullen landscapes of Salvator Rosa, is frequently more explicit



FIG. 1. — ALESSANDRO MAGNASCO. — Soldiers Playing Cards. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

than "statement". Indeed, the baroque in painting prefers a relative instead of an absolute clarity of statement; in spite of technical facility (perhaps because of it) the implication — the "atmosphere" of landscape in Ruysdael or Hobbema — itself may be indeterminate. Illusionism, the deception accomplished by extreme technical facility, is a characteristic baroque device. Instead of avoiding naturalistic detail, the baroque can employ it for "effect" as readily as it employs an ornate and rhetorical theatricality; the almost brutal realism of Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* is as temperamentally baroque as the spectacular allegories by Rubens. In its most authentic devices the baroque resorts to the dramatic, whether it be the suspended activity in Rem-

brandt's *Syndics of the Cloth Guild* or the gaudy ecstasy of Murillo's ascending Virgin. Fokker, a solid critic of baroque architecture, finds that the baroque executes the paradox of establishing boundaries that it seems to violate, if not to demolish, by an accomplished and audacious — really an histrionic — illusion. A baroque cathedral, with its daringly opposed, broken, and recessional surfaces, counterpoints a majestically firm structure against great implied space. The astonishing effects designed for the theatre by the Bibiena family carry the baroque magnificence and illusion to their most melodramatic level. Spengler in his blundering, suggestive way has called the baroque spirit, in its impetus toward infinity, "faustian"; but the term must be used with discrimination.

If this characterization of baroque be legitimate, we may well recall that between the arts of XVII and XVIII Century England the transition is more direct than is ordinarily presumed. In portraiture the broad fluency of Sir Peter Lely is



FIG. 2. — RICHARD WILSON. — Italian Lake. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. — *Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

carried through certain mannerisms of Kneller to the frequently extravagant effects of Reynolds and Gainsborough, who, to be sure, practiced a more severe transcription of character itself. As for landscape painting, there was a sustained imitation of Claude (Figs. 4 and 5), Salvator (Fig. 3), and the Poussins — not only among Dutch and Flemish painters resident in England, but also by such obscure British workmen as William Taverner, George Lambert, John Collins, and John Kirby, who were painting even before Wilson learned his rhetoric in Rome — a Rome permeated by the baroque-landscape tradition. Meanwhile the walls of country houses were being crowded with Flemish and Dutch landscapes by Waterloo, Hobbema, Ruysdael, and Rubens. Of course, among the continuators of the baroque was Hogarth, with his waving line of beauty and his agitation “that leads the eye a wanton kind of chase” through intricacies often too grotesque to suit the rococo. It is significant that however insistently Reynolds pled for Raphael in his early discourses, he at last paid full homage to the portentous baroque of Michaelangelo.

In architecture the baroque tradition was strong in Vanbrugh, whose full-blooded “movement” and egregious decorative effects like ringed columns are to be seen in Blenheim, Eastbury, and Seaton Delaval. Even Robert Adam acknowl-



FIG. 3. — SALVATOR ROSA. — *Bandits on a Rocky Coast.* — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

edged, in his handsome note, Vanbrugh's titanic vitality:

"Movement is meant to express, the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with other diversity of form, in the different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque[ness] of the composition. For the rising and falling, advancing and receding, with the convexity and concavity, and other forms of the great parts, have the same effect in architecture, that hill and dale, fore-ground and distance, swelling and sinking have in landscape: That is, they serve to produce an agreeable and diversified contour, that groups and contrasts like a picture, and creates a variety of light and shade, which gives great spirit, beauty and effect to the composition".

These picturesque effects have the closest affinities with the pomp achieved by baroque architecture. As for sculpture, the convulsive pantomime of Lady Nightingale's tomb in Westminster — in which the frantic husband seeks to interpose himself between his wife and the brandished dart of Death, who starts from the gates of the pit beneath — suggests that Roubillac could compose in the *presto* of certain hysterically baroque monuments in Spain.

The melodrama of the Nightingale tomb (Fig. 6) is not so extreme a case, or



FIG. 4. — WILLIAM WOOLLETT. — The Temple of Apollo, etching after Claude. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

so alien to its century, as one might aver. However feeble may have been the written drama, the XVIII Century sensitivity to the histrionic has seldom been appreciated. Perhaps by this responsiveness to the histrionic, the XVIII Century most closely resembles the preceding baroque period. One need not dwell upon the whimsical attitudes in Hogarth or the exquisite liveliness of conversation-pieces by J. F.

Nollekins or the younger Marcellus Laroon; or upon the arrested gesture of Mrs. Siddons as *The Tragic Muse*; or Reynolds' Viscountess Crosbie caught just as she hurries into a baroque landscape; or the banal coquetry of Romney's Emma Hart. We may turn to the little persons who flicker through *The Rape of the Lock*, or to the sensible posturings caught in *Tristram Shandy* — for sensibility was ever mannered. It was an age of consummate acting. When he saw West's *Death of General Wolfe*, Garrick is said to have acted out his criticism of the painting: as he was held by two of his friends, he fell into the pose of the dying Wolfe and "displayed in his features the exact countenance depicted by the artist"; next, to the applause of bystanders, he expressed Wolfe's momentary ecstasy as the British cried "They run!" In 1765, in Paris, to the delight of a fashionable circle, Garrick performed, impromptu, a little scene that he had once witnessed:

"A father", he said, "was fondling his child at an open window, from whence they looked into the street; by one unlucky effort, the child sprang from his father's arms, fell upon the ground, and died upon the spot: what followed, he said, was a language which every body understood, for it was the language of nature; he immediately threw himself into the attitude in which the father appeared at the time the child leaped from his arms.

"The influence which the representation of the father's agony produced on the company, and exhibited by this darling son of Nature, in the silent, but expressive language of unutterable sorrow, is easier to be imagined than expressed; let it suffice to say, that the greatest astonishment was succeeded by abundant tears".

Even the lifelike *gaucherie* in Gainsborough's portraits, or the almost painful stiffness in family groups by Arthur Devis, have a dramatic immediacy. One might even mention the stagey vitality of the personifications in Collins' odes. The grand theatricality of the baroque had been a little refined and informalized.

In literature itself the baroque tradition was perpetuated in many ways. In the midst of Augustan clubs Addison was prostrating himself before Milton; meanwhile Dyer, then Thomson, cultivated Miltonic effects. More important, the very rhetoric of the XVIII century verse is a baroque rhetoric — a "poetic diction" beneath which was a baroque and even Jesuitical assumption that language *embellishes* thought; that epithets are imposed upon a verse much as sumptuous ornament frankly embellishes a structure. The XVII Century, not the XVIII, compiled the *gradus ad parnassum* and established the principle of *ut pictura poesis*, the principle that the epithet is to "color" poetry just as pigment "colors" design.

The importance of these plain facts has been slurred over. The Augustan "propriety" and "justness" that set in during the XVII Century and evidenced themselves diversely in the formal garden, the Burlingtonian revival of Palladian architecture, the chilly scheme of "rules", the balanced couplet of Pope's metrical essays, the monumental order of Dr. Johnson's standards, and Sir Joshua Reynolds'



FIG. 5. — CLAUDE LORRAIN. — The Mill. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

professed devotion to regularity, appear to be a wide but rather hasty academic excursion from a baroque tradition maintained from the XVII Century through the XVIII in sundry forms, picturesque and otherwise; this tradition, with "romantic" deviations, was transmitted to the XIX Century in the stormy egoism of Byron, the heavy rhetoric of Keats, the sentimentalized "picturesque" of Ruskin, the explosive eccentricities of Carlyle, and the grotesquerie of Browning. A baroque tradition, generously interpreted, is deeper than one might suppose in XVIII Century England. It is decisive in the evolution of that most characteristic XVIII Century sensibility to the picturesque and the sublime, though neither picturesque-ness nor sublimity is entirely baroque.

* * *

After a good many sallies into psychology and aesthetics, the XVIII Century agreed in general to distinguish the three qualities of beauty, sublimity, and picturesqueness. According to Burke's essay on the matter, the beautiful results from smallness, smoothness, gradual variation, mild color, and delicacy or fragility. The suavity and gaiety of this beauty identify it with the rococo. Sublimity, however, was thought to violate all "propriety". It evokes not pleasure but astonishment, terror, or even pain by its obscurity, vastness, infinity, difficulty, gloom, suddenness, and power. The XVIII Century, with earnestness prepense, abandoned itself to the sublimities of Mt. Snowdon, Gothistic castles, and Ossianic epics. Obviously, sublimity is a tremor, felt at a distance, from the monstrous baroque agitation of Michelangelo or Milton. Temperamentally the XVIII Century found it embarrassing to surrender so recklessly, and thus sought in the picturesque, a sentimentalized sublimity, the excitement of the sublime without its abandon. The picturesque was a characteristic XVIII Century appropriation of the baroque.

The Englishman cultivated his eye to appreciate a picturesque scene in terms of the landscape (or landscape-with-figures) manner of XVII Century painters: the savage naturalism of Salvator, the more genial plein-airism of Ruysdael or Hobbema, the half-academic, pseudo-epic pastoralism of Nicholas or Gaspar Poussin, and the gently modulated radiance of Claude. Consequently, at one extreme the picturesque attained sublimity, and at the other relaxed into beauty. Travelers, poets, gardeners might refresh their sensibilities upon the gracious "prospect" that opened easily "without flutter, confusion, or perplexity", or they might insist with Uvedale Price that "qualities of roughness, and of sudden variation, joined to that of irregularity, are the most efficient causes of the picturesque". In any case there was an uneasiness at the heart of the XVIII Century: variety was imperative, as Alexander Gerard said; otherwise one was oppressed by a "dull formality". An engaging landscape must offer "castles, promontories, mountains, rocks, valleys, ruins, rivers, woods, forests, chases, trees, houses and all other buildings, both beau-



FIG. 6. — L. F. ROUBILLAC. — Monument to Lady Nightingale.
Westminster Abbey, London.

tiful and ruinous". A Palladian structure might be "elegant in the last degree" and pleasing in "the proportion of its parts", but nowise picturesque: "we must beat down one half of it, deface the other, and throw the mutilated members around in heaps". The picturesque eye roved about "open" compositions:

"... where Claude extends his
prospect wide,
O'er Rome's Compania to the
Tyrrhene tide,
(Where tow'rs and temples,
mould'ring to decay,
In pearly air appear to die
away,
And the soft distance, melting
from the eye,
Dissolves its forms into the azure
sky),
... where great Salvator's moun-
tains rise,
And hide their craggy summits
in the skies;
While tow'ring clouds in whirl-
ing eddies roll,
And bursting thunders seem to
shake the pole".

A half-Salvatorean, half-Claudesque world was the Campo Vaccino, the ancient forum, in Rome, which afforded the richest allusions and a charming, ruinous confusion — as well as engaging petty dramas, acted with such lively gesture, by the toy-like figures posed so casually within the shadows of the great past.

* * *

If one considers the picturesque to be a rococo order of "sublimity" (for that is, after all, what the picturesque amounts to, since the century seldom or never attained a genuine sublimity in terms of its own definition) it also bears the features

of the baroque: notably, its concern with illusion that may be almost dramatic; its "variety", or stratagem of contrast and incongruity; its "movement" and "occult balance" that appears so capricious; its emotional unity rather than tightness of composition; its "surface" appeal and reliance upon color, together with sensitivity to tone, or values of light and shade; and its play with naturalism — a naturalism far from "natural". Each of these features betrays the origin of the picturesque in the baroque.



FIG. 7. — RICHARD WILSON. — View in Italy. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The distinctively picturesque medium was landscape gardening, the "natural" garden being England's original contribution to the arts of the century. Painting, rather than architecture, was the directive art in landscape gardening, since almost every designer was inspired by Salvator or Claude. Although each of the developments in gardening can be paralleled in other arts, conclusive illustration of the picturesque may well be drawn from the *ferme ornée*.

Nothing in gardening more clearly demonstrates the heightened baroque "effect" than the establishment of an arbitrary point of view — like the *di sotto in sù* perspective by which Baciccio painted away the ceiling of the Gesù Church in

Rome, or like the sleight with which Bernini opened the approaches to St. Peter's or the Scala Regia, or like the highly personal tone of Donne and Milton. It became a matter of "taste" that the picturesque gardener, a specialist in illusion, should at every turn manage his effects so that the foot should not traverse the course previously run over by the eye ("lose the object, and draw nigh, obliquely"); that there should be extravagant contrasts between scene and scene so that progress through an improved garden served as a little drama. As in Gothistic architecture, this "sympathizing irregularity" (*Sharawadgi* was the fashionable Chinese term) juxtaposed classical, oriental, and mediaeval along paths that twined from urn to urn, from vista to vista, from erected ruin to erected ruin — an indiscreet rhetoric joined with an equally indiscreet naturalism. At the Leasowes, a "bold, artless cascade" churning down between grisly barren roots, was succeeded by a Gothic alcove, a Lover's Walk, Virgil's Grove, and transporting prospects.

In fact, the craze for chinoiserie resulted from the effort to vary and surprise. When Sir William Chambers found the "natural" garden unexciting, he suggested that the Chinese do things better and more melodramatically by resorting to "extraordinary trees" and "artificial and complicated echoes"; they even "let loose different sorts of monstrous birds and animals". He dwelt with Salvatorean gusto upon their use of "impending rocks, dark caverns, and



FIG. 8. — PIRANESI. — Campo Vaccino, etching. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



FIG. 9. — PIRANESI. — Baths of Caracalla, etching. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

When Sir William Chambers found the "natural" garden unexciting, he suggested that the Chinese do things better and more melodramatically by resorting to "extraordinary trees" and "artificial and complicated echoes"; they even "let loose different sorts of monstrous birds and animals". He dwelt with Salvatorean gusto upon their use of "impending rocks, dark caverns, and

impetuous cataracts rushing down the mountains from all sides". By these "judicious arrangements" and "sudden transitions" the Chinese conduct one "from scenes of horror to scenes of delight". All England, Chambers proposed, might become a fantastic Chinese garden — wherever there are collieries, mines, or famished cottagers, the addition of "a few uncouth straggling trees, some ruins, caverns, rocks, torrents, abandoned villages, in part consumed by fire, solitary hermitages, and other similar objects, artfully introduced and blended with gloomy plantations,



FIG. 10. — Frontispiece: *Grotesque Architecture, or, Rural Amusements*, 1767, by William Wrighte.

would complete the aspect of desolation, and serve to fill the mind". Although the exoticism of the century is obvious, Chambers would exploit incongruity as brazenly as the baroque painters, sculptors, and architects.

The insinuating irregularities that are so "picturesque" in girandoles designed by Chippendale, and his agitated "ribbandback" devices, bespeak how closely the slighter rococo arts move to the waning impulses of the baroque. William Gilpin went so far as to term the human form picturesque "when it is agitated by passion, and its muscles swoln by strong exertion". As for the more generous "movement" and "open" composition of the baroque, Joseph Warton observed how "the scenes of Thomson are frequently as wild and romantic as those of

Salvator Rosa, varied with precipices and torrents, and 'castled cliffs' and deep vallies, with piny mountains, and the gloomiest caverns". Not Hagley itself could furnish a more grandiose panorama than *The Seasons*, which have, too, the fleshy coloring of the baroque — that of Rubens or of Milton's gorgeous sultry Hell:



FIG. 11. — Stowe. — Plan of the Gardens, drawn by Desmadryl. — M. L. Gothein, *History of Garden Art*, Vol. II. — Courtesy E. P. Dutton & Co., N.Y.

“... many a bursting
stream auriferous
plays;
Majestic woods of every
vigorous green,
Stage above stage, high-
waving o’er the hills
Or to the far horizon
wide-diffused,
A boundless deep immen-
sity of shade”.

It has been observed how the mountains in these picturesque spectacles “rush” on the skies and in how broad a Miltonic cadence they are painted.

The composition of all such vistas is remarkably “open” in both design and subject. If anything gives them unity, it is their emotional scale. There is no precision of balance or pattern, and the whole effect is like that of a grand baroque surface by which the eye is swept into exuberant rhythms that effect a katharsis of their own. Even among the nicer sinuousities of the picturesque, as in Chinese summer houses, the sense grasps only correspondences rather than repetitions. Nothing better supports Wölfflin’s principle that the baroque speaks with “relative” instead of “absolute” clarity than to set the minutely integrated and vividly realized Bower of Blisse in *The Faerie Queene* — so scrupulously sharp in detail and so firm in composition — against a Miltonic scene with its intrusive space and magnificent imprecision, or

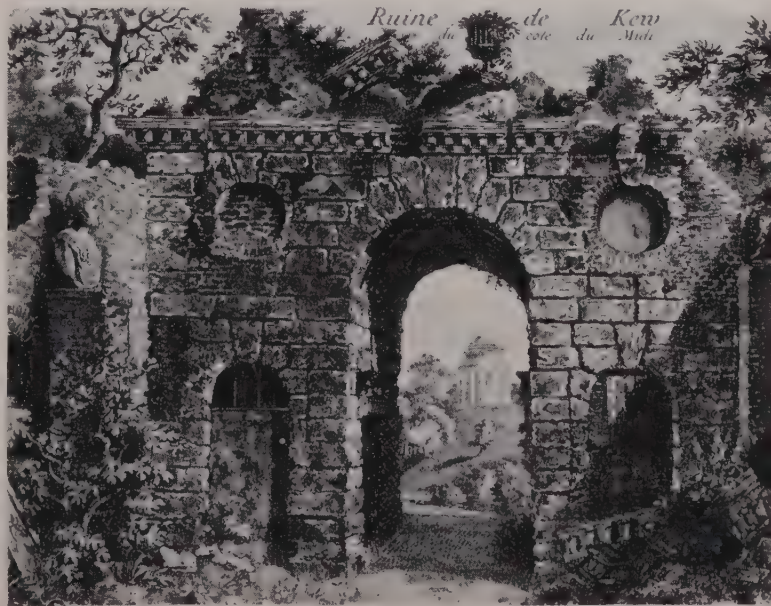


FIG. 12. — Ruin at Kew. — Le Rouge, *Des Jardins Anglo-Chinois*, 1776, Cahier IV, Plate 23.

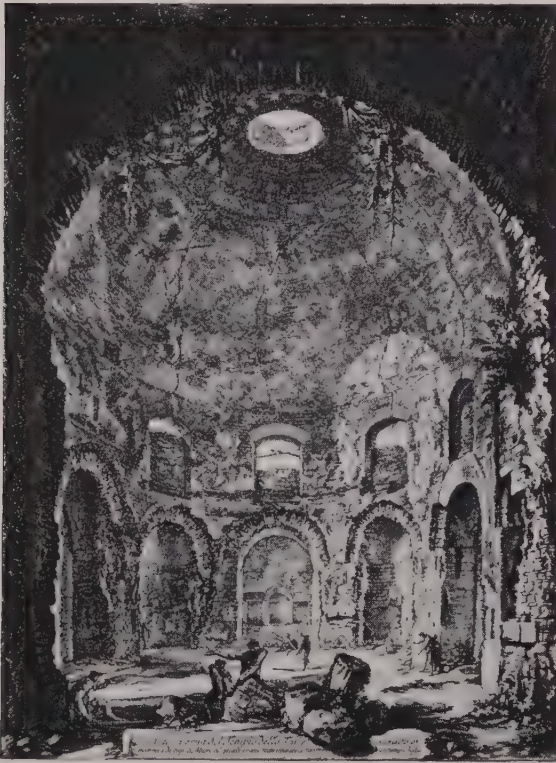


FIG. 13. — PIRANESI. — Veduta Interna del Tempio della Tosse, etching. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

against a picturesque vista with its blurred warm vision:

“Temples! and towns! and towers! and woods!
And hills! and vales! and fields! and floods!
Crowding before me, edg’d around
With naked wilds, and barren ground.”

Such picturesque visions are brought into focus, if at all, by the “tonality” of their surface. Here the continuity from baroque to picturesque is decisive — both depend upon color and modulation of tone. For this reason Claude is so much admired by picturesque poets, painters, water-colorists, and gardeners. Claude is master of the baroque illusion that dissolves the substance of things into a transitory splendor of light. The sea, the marble grandeur of antique palaces, the eternal stony hills glimmer upon a sensibility that is retinal. His seascapes and

landscapes incandesce into a fantasy entirely “painterly” and *malerisch*. A moment later or sooner and the shimmering apprehensions of Claude might solidify under the glare of full daylight or translate themselves into the dingy rhetoric of academism.

This impressionability to fugitive, gracious light is not alone baroque. The splendid visions that Shaftesbury elaborated in *The Moralists* are luminous with a Claudesque radiance, and travelers in quest of the picturesque like Gray and Gilpin, stumbling about the crags of the Lake District, carried in their pockets a Claude glass that transposed a scene into “that mellow golden hue so beautiful in itself, and which, when diffused, as in a fine evening, over the whole landscape, creates that rich union and harmony, so enchanting in nature and in Claude.” When, about 1756, Dr. John Brown wrote to Lord Lyttleton, the vale of Keswick flickered beneath him in a “deep and purple gloom” —

“... the ruling tints in the valley being those of azure, green, and gold, yet ever various, arising from an intermixture of the lake, the woods, the grass, and corn fields: these are finely contrasted by the grey rocks and cliffs; and the whole heightened by the yellow streams of light, the purple hues, and misty azure of the mountains.”

The Claudesque shimmer, glowing across the entire XVIII Century, eventually became more plangent in Turner; and Ruskin, as his eye followed the storm clouds over La Riccia, similarly dissolved the world into a retinal illusion. In one sense, the picturesque is only a certain kind of "surface" — the Claudesque glory of Milton's great sun robed in amber light illumines the yellow mountains and glittering broken rocks of Grongar Hill and floods the gigantic horizons of Thomson's *Seasons*. For Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price the picturesque "is merely that kind of beauty which belongs exclusively to the sense of vision . . . the eye, unassisted, perceives nothing but light variously graduated and modified." Cool gleams across upland fallows and sheeted lakes of the XVIII Century are a "painterly" baroque illusion.

In its attempt to avoid a "disgusting regularity" the picturesque often resorted to a naturalism as obtrusive as the muscularity of certain baroque statuary or the accent upon textures in certain baroque painting. Neither baroque nor picturesque, however, is naturalistic; naturalism as an end in itself was among the techniques of the later XVIII and XIX Centuries that finally supplanted the baroque. Like the baroque, the picturesque resorted to naturalism only as an expedient. The extreme of this naturalism was, of course, the "executed ruin" of Sanderson Miller. As the good William Gilpin explained,



FIG. 14. — GAINSBOROUGH. — Grand Landscape. — Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass. — Courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.

"It is not every man who can build a house, that can execute a ruin. To give the stone its mouldering appearance — to make the widening chink run naturally through all the joints — to mutilate the ornaments — to peel the facing from the internal structure — to shew how correspondent parts have once been united; though now the chasm runs wide between them —

and to scatter heaps of ruin around with negligence and ease; are great efforts of art. . . ."

The graveyard school of poets made great play with this sort of naturalism — Blair's sickly taper glimmering through vaults "furr'd round with moldy damp and ropy slime" is a baroque passage; as he meditates in the gloom of the charnel house, the Reverend James Hervey observes the glitter of coffin-nails. This accent upon macabre detail intensifies a sensationalism that is not only Gothic but also baroque — almost Caravaggiesque. So far as it is picturesque, Gothicism is an XVIII Century continuation of baroque.

How nearly the picturesque may approximate baroque is indicated by the "classical-picturesque" manner of Richard Wilson's landscapes-with-figures, which resemble the admired *Vedute* — scenes from the environs of Rome — by Piranesi. In both appear

". . . some old building, hid with grass,
Rearing sad its ruin'd face,
Whose columns, friezes, statues lie,
The grief and wonder of the eye!
Or swift adown a mountain tall
A foaming cat'ract's sounding fall."

In his etchings Piranesi, like Wilson or Dyer, stands precisely at the juncture of baroque with picturesque (Figs. 8, 9, and 13). He foreshortens the high baroque rhythms of St. John Lateran by an arbitrary point of view from a considerable elevation to the right of the facade, which appears against an entertainingly varied landscape. The same acutely recessional composition, quickened "movement," and theatrical shadows that he achieves in his designs for the stage are to be found in his etching of the Temple of Tosse, which in Rembrandtesque lighting approaches the "Gothic." Beneath his prodigious Temple at Paestum or his Aqueduct of Nero — ruinous, gigantic, overgrown with ivy and shrubbery that accentuate their "roughness" — groups of peasants clamber haphazardly among the grotesque heaps of masonry. Dyer's *Ruins of Rome* is a similar great baroque theatre:

"Amid the tow'ry ruins, huge, supreme,
Th' enormous amphitheatre behold,
Mountainous pile! o'er whose capacious womb
Pours the broad firmament its varied light;
While from the central floor the seats ascend
Round above round, slow-wid'ning to the verge,
A circuit vast and high. . . ."

These picturesque gestures are an afterpiece to the more emphatic drama of the baroque.

* * *

Restless, overwrought, and distorted as the picturesque may be, its drama is not precisely that of the baroque. For one thing, it is more informal, less monumental. The widest disparity, however, between baroque and picturesque is the obliteration of design or composition, the dissolution of proportion, in the improved garden, Gothistic architecture, the dainty landscape-with-figures, and the discursive picturesque-meditative poem. The baroque, because of its deep and inward paradox, offers a less superficial, a more complex, illusion; for beneath the agitation and disturbed balance of the baroque was a genuine counterpointing of actual structure



FIG. 15. — JACOB VAN RUYSDAEL. — View of Haarlem from the Dunes. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. *Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

against apparent violation of that structure. The “open” composition of the baroque, its emotional and technical disturbance, were not veritably “open” or disturbed as was the picturesque. The impact of the baroque against its frame of reference, the “faustian” impulse toward infinity, was an enlargement of implication rather than an annihilation of limit. However dynamic baroque design (or baroque “world-view” and cosmology) might be, it was actually contained within its references by an order tacitly accepted — so to speak, a new non-Ptolemaic system that

could deal with infinity as a conceptual or mathematical value rather than as an emotional value. However spacious the firmament might be, the cosmos of Galileo, Kepler and Newton still “composed”, much as a baroque church or a baroque painting, beneath the centrifugal energy of its suggestion, composes. Denial of boundary or limit became, therefore, only a technical manoeuvre of the baroque; in the picturesque it became an eruption into infinity. In the XVIII Century not only the Ptolemaic but, more awful, the Newtonian world-system was becoming incoherent as science swung from mathematics toward biology and geology. One can trace the shift from Samuel Clarke through Shaftesbury (and Mandeville) to William Paley

and to Wordsworth with his "sense sublime." The picturesque *is* formless; the baroque *seems* formless. The one is a mood; the other is a technique.

The sedate Addison at the opening of the century observed that the imagination is unquiet and cannot be confined within the alleys of a formal garden; it flies on without restraint and "loves to be filled with an object, or to grasp at any thing that is too big for its capacity." This is the ultimate implication of "romantic" consciousness — the denial of the finite. The baroque remained within its myths, even if it exploited them outrageously. The picturesque has, so to speak, no myth. It may verge toward the sublime, and was given final definition by Diderot or by Hazlitt, who remarked (one recalls the titanism of Hugo) that "the province of the imagination is principally visionary, the unknown and undefined". Great poetry, Hazlitt believed, grapples with the "vast, unformed, obscure, and infinite" — a pronouncement that inevitably follows from Burke's definition of sublimity.

Or else the picturesque may lose itself in reverie, "that pleasing melancholy which proceeds from a reflection on decayed magnificence" (Figs. 15 and 16). According to Archibald Alison, writing at the close of the XVIII Century, the effect of the picturesque depends upon its "associations" —

"An old tower in the middle of a deep wood, a bridge flung across a chasm between rocks, a cottage on a precipice, are common examples. If I am not mistaken, the effect which such objects have on every one's mind, is to suggest an additional train of conceptions."

Hence the picturesque brooding over the past, a relaxation and reminiscence alien to the baroque. As Gilpin said, "the picturesque eye is perhaps most inquisitive after the elegant relics of ancient architecture; the ruined tower, the Gothic arch, the remains of castles, and abbeys." The picturesque addresses itself to a range of suggestion that offers mildly recreative satisfaction. And the picturesque suggestion is even less determinate than the suggestion of the baroque. The emotional stress of the baroque was a stress; it pressed against a limit, whether we consider that limit as a myth, a rhetoric, a mathematics, or a concept. The picturesque and the sublime were not subject to this sort of stress or tension. They might be explosive — more fully kinetic than even the grandiose baroque; or the picturesque might indulge the equally irresponsible though less intense reverie.

If the sublime is an extreme expression of certain picturesque moods, the picturesque is, in turn, a sentimentalized sublimity; both are modifications of baroque in which incongruities may remain, but in which incongruities do not betoken internal or otherwise inherent tensions. In consequence, no drama is available to either picturesque or sublime (which are lyric). Both can perform dramatic gesture; but both are akin to pathos rather than to tragedy, to *sensibilité* rather than to dramatic pressures. The picturesque and sublime are both in peril of pathos or melodrama in a sense in which the baroque is not. The baroque encounters a corre-



FIG. 16. — WILLIAM WOOLLETT. — Second premium landscape, etching after J. Smith. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

sponding peril only when it fails to exploit its technical virtuosity (by counterpointing its artifice against its emotional intensity), or, some might say, when it actually does not undergo the internal stresses that the technical distortions betoken.

If baroque techniques are perpetuated in the picturesque, the transformation of the picturesque into the "romantic" becomes finally apparent in Ruskin's critique of the Gothic. Disregarding the structural achievements of that style, its geometric accomplishment, Ruskin, like the Victorians generally, interpreted Gothic in terms that are at once picturesque and "faustian." Ruskin recognized that the picturesque is a language of "accidental or external qualities" —

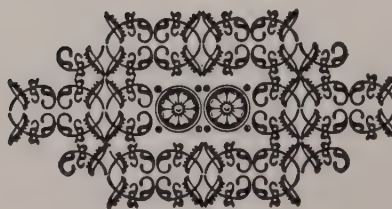
"... angular and broken lines, vigorous oppositions of light and shadow, and grave, deep, or boldly contrasted colour; and all these are in a still higher degree effective, when, by resemblance or association, they remind us of objects on which a true and essential sublimity exists, as of rocks or mountains, or stormy clouds or waves."

How far he apprehended that his own estimate of Gothic — its alleged savageness, changefulness or variety, naturalism, and grotesqueness — was essentially a picturesque one is debatable. But he clearly valued Gothic for its “minute and multitudinous sculptural decorations” (particularly its “fondness for the forms of Vegetation”), its “sentiment of age,” and its play with shadow. All these values are common to the picturesque mediaevalism that so enchanted the XVIII Century. The impulse that transforms this picturesque-baroque sensibility into a sensibility wholly romantic is Ruskin’s eruption into the infinite:

“It is that strange *disquietude* of the Gothic spirit that is its greatness; that restlessness of the dreaming mind, that wanders hither and thither among the niches, and flickers feverishly around the pinnacles, and frets and fades in labyrinthine knots and shadows along wall and roof, and yet is not satisfied, nor shall be satisfied.”

The baroque frame of reference has disintegrated; nor is this an engaging picturesque disorder. The spastic movement of baroque and the incoherent artifices of the picturesque have been penetrated with the “faustian” spirit questing, in self-torment, through the Shelleyan intense inane.¹

WYLIE SYPHER.



1. MR. FISKE KIMBALL's contributions, in his article on *Meissonnier and the beginning of the Genre Pittoresque* ("Gazette des Beaux-Arts", October 1942), and his recent book *Creation of the Rococo* (see the review of this book in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", November 1943), are of such importance to the English literature of this period as to demand separate and more specialized treatment.



FIG. 1. — COSIMO ROSSELLI. — MIRACLE OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT, detail (Pico della Mirandola, Poliziano and the elder Ficino?). — CAPPELLA DEL MIRACOLO (left wall), SANT' AMBROGIO, FLORENCE.

AN UNKNOWN PORTRAIT OF PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA

THE drawing published here (Fig. 2) has been reproduced in the second volume, No. 18, of the publication devoted to the collection of drawings of the Bonnat Museum, in Bayonne,¹ as "Anonymous Venetian, late XV Century." One of the copies which Cristofano dell'Altissimo and others made for the Medici from the famed portrait collection of Paolo Giovio, helped me to identify this drawing. It is unquestionably a portrait of the prince, poet and philosopher, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. The only difference between the portrait of the Giovio collection,

1. *Les dessins de la collection Léon Bonnat au Musée de Bayonne*, II, 1925. Silverpoint, wash, heightened with white, 336 X 255 mm., cut on the outlines and pasted.

as seen in this copy, and the drawn one, preserved in the Bonnat Museum, lies in the more sketchy execution of the costume in the latter.

We are informed that Giovio had the portrait of Pico made for him by a Roman painter who—as already noted by Kenner²—must simply have copied an older model. This fixed profile view became the basis of posterity's idea of Pico (Fig. 3). Vasari used the model for his lunette in the "Sala di Lorenzo il Magnifico." (Alinari 4424). As much later as approximately one hundred years Pico again appears, painted from the same model, in the Palazzo Pitti mural representing

2. "Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses," vol. XVIII, 1897, p. 246 note 2.

Lorenzo in the gardens of Careggi by Francesco Furini.³ Pico is the second figure from the right in this painting.

It appears rather astonishing that Vasari should have followed this particular model. He bestowed the highest praise upon another portrait of Pico, introduced by Cosimo Rosselli into his mural, *Miracle of the Blessed Sacrament*, in Sant'Ambrogio, Florence: "*Di naturale, oltre a molti altri, vi è ritratto il Pico della Mirandola tanto eccellentemente, che pare non è ritratto, ma vivo*".⁴ Pico's portrait, moreover, is the only one which Vasari mentions among nearly a hundred representations in the mural of men and women witnessing the miracle.

The resulting problem has been that of detecting where this highly praised portrait is to be found in Cosimo Rosselli's composition. Kenner identified it with one of the faces, in the background, which he considered very similar to that of the Giovio portrait. But this is only similar and by no means identical. It would, on the whole, be difficult to accept this identification because the figure in question as such is so inconspicuous that one could hardly understand why Vasari, who had no special reason for singling out Pico, should have given it special attention.

The composition contains a few detached groups of figures in the foreground standing out against the closely packed rows of smaller figures behind. It seems reasonable to turn towards these more conspicuous figures in order to detect the portrait to which Vasari alluded.⁵

Pico has indeed also been identified as one of the men forming part of a group of three in the foreground of the mural (Fig. 1). In this group he is flanked, supposedly, by the elder Ficino and Poliziano. Daring as it might be to compare a full face view with a pure profile, the long nose and the nicely curled hair seem to confirm the identification. Pico's features, as seen in the painting, are in keeping with the miraculous

event; they show the refinement of an old child and of a noble family's scion.

This brings us to study more closely the Bonnat Museum's drawing. If in 1485-86, when Rosselli painted his mural, Pico looked so senile and at the same time so infantile, what might have been his age when he sat for the Bonnat portrait? We cannot venture an entirely positive opinion on this point. The pure profile in itself is somewhat of an abstraction and therefore hardly suggests a commonplace association such as the age of the person represented. Moreover, the suggestion of age in a portrait depends not only upon the sitter, but also on the portrait-painter. That the latter, in this case, was a distinguished artist, is not merely implicated by the high quality of the drawing; this could as well be presumed from the fact that Pico was a personality of high rank, both intellectually and socially.

A descendant of the family reigning in Mirandola, Pico was a kinsman of all the princely houses in Northern Italy. His official career began as early as 1472 when, at the age of nine, he traveled to Mantua for the arrival of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga who, the following year, conferred upon him the title of Apostolic Prothonotary. We hear of a journey to Bologna, of studies in Ferrara (1479-1480), of a first visit, in 1479, to Florence which was to become his second home.

The Bonnat drawing, as we pointed out previously, has been published as "Venetian." However, in regard to the origin of the drawing, the known circumstances of Pico's life, speak in favor of almost any locality where a court painter was available, except Venice. He seems not to have visited this city during his terms at the University of Padua (1481-82) and when he returned to Venice, an eye disease—we are informed by a letter of his companion Poliziano⁶—prevented him from keeping up any activity. Furthermore, the drawing looks by no means typically Venetian to me—though we should be at a loss to point, for adequate comparison, to portraits drawn in Venice during the late 1480s. In Venice, then, the influence of Antonello was at its peak, and in the field of drawing there is no trace of his approach to portraiture.

The sharp profile in the drawing strikes us as

3. Illustrated in: TRIFON TRAPESNIKOFF, *Porträt-darstellungen der Mediceer*, Strasbourg 1909, pl. XXVII. Other representations are listed by KENNER I.C., p. 245.

4. "Among other figures portrayed from life there is a portrait of Pico della Mirandola, so outstanding that it does not seem to be a portrait, but a living person."

5. CRUTWELL, *Florentine Churches*, London 1908, p. 3f., identified Pico with the youth, at left in the background, seen nearly full face.

6. Poliziano's letter first printed in: A. FABRONI, *Laurentii Medicis Magnifici vita*, Pisa, 1784 II, p. 284/6.



FIG. 2. — PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, drawing. — Bonnat Museum, Bayonne, France.

more archaic than the rendering of the hair or the interpretation of the head. Its distinguished great style and concentration are almost in direct contrast to the outmoded position in profile. One grows conscious of this contrast when considering, as the possible artist responsible for this portrait, a man like Baldassare d'Este, the busy court-painter of the Este, who might quite conceivably have been ordered to portray the princely relative for the family "cabinet."

Baldassare was the sole Ferrarese painter who specialized in portraits. In the portrait of the Cook Collection in Richmond, England, (signed in full, and on the basis of a medal, indubitably identified as a *Portrait of Tito Vespasiano Strozzi*⁷) the dull profile pose and the technical objectivity of the rendering join in a solid unity. Not for a moment are we inclined to wonder whether the painting in Richmond was done by a young pioneer artist who only reluctantly and under pressure would have agreed to practice the old fashioned profile. That, however, is exactly the way we feel when we look at the drawing in Bayonne.

Kenner referred to a portrait drawing of Pico, attributed to Lionardo da Vinci, which had belonged to the Roman archeologist Fulvio Orsini,⁸ and suggested that this might have been the model of the portrait in the Giovinio Collection.

An identification of the Bonnat drawing with this washed pendrawing⁹ of the Fulvio Orsini collection would point in the most plausible direction, being supported by the strongest correspondence of style.

There are, incidentally, good reasons for assuming that Pico entertained close relations with the Court of Milan. A proof of this can be found,

7. Compare G. F. HILL, *A corpus of the Italian medals*, no. 125. Caption: *Titus Strozcius*. The doubts concerning the identification with Strozzi of the portrait in Richmond have been expressed by H. COOK, in: "Burlington Magazine" 1911, p. 233.

8. The inventory of Fulvio Orsini's estate, of 1600, has been published in "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", 1884 I, p. 435. No. 102 is listed as: *Quadretto cominciato d'hebano, di penna tocco di aquarella, con la testa del Pico della Mirandolla, di mano di Lionardo da Vinci*.

9. The description in the Bayonne publication states: "Silverpoint", a detail which cannot be checked in the reproduction. Oxidized silverpoint may easily have been mistaken for pen in the late XVI century when the technique was no longer familiar.



FIG. 3. — PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, painting. — Uffizi, Florence.

for instance, in the following episode of Pico's life. The young prince, struck by the papal bull, left Rome and Italy in the fall of 1487 to undertake the defense of his doctrines from Paris. But before he reached Paris, he was seized on January 6, 1488 and taken to Vincennes. The Milanese Ambassador was then the first to protest to his arrest at the Court of France in the name of his Lord.

The favorite portrait painter of Lodovico Moro was Ambrogio Predis who, as early as May 22, 1482, had been appointed painter to his Court. It would not be the first time that a drawing by Predis would have been ascribed to Leonardo by its owner. In what concerns the attribution of the *Portrait of Pico* of the Bonnat Museum, Leonardo himself seems to be out of the question; his typical features are missing, and can hardly have been lost merely by the severe damage the drawing has suffered. But a touch of modern approach is to be felt in spite of the traditional pose in profile; just as much of it as Lionardo's influence on a contemporary of his might bestow.

E. TIETZE-CONRAT.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

TALBOT HAMLIN. — *Greek Revival Architecture in America*. — New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, 6 x 9½, 439 p., 94 pl.

The recording of the history of American Architecture has suffered from two causes; the preoccupation of writers with the production of books useful as precedent for designers in the recent Colonial Revival, and the fear, among scholars, that the field was not a scholarly one. Both of these impediments have been ignored by Professor Hamlin in his monumental work: *Greek Revival Architecture in America*. There is no hint that he expects architects to employ his plates. His standing as a critic dispels such fear. His position as Librarian, Avery Library, Columbia University, should encourage other scholars to enter the field. The tracing of the European antecedents of American buildings, and their influence on American architecture, should, considering our complex origins, stimulate even the most exacting man of research.

The period that Prof. Hamlin has chosen for his thesis is that often styled as the first universal American style. And this is true for it marks the breaking down of regional units by Federal Government, extending railroad systems and increasing publication of architectural style books. The coming of a universal style was inevitable even though the preoccupation with academic surface ornament and formal disposition of spaces has hindered its full flower even to the present.

As Dean Arnaud says in his foreword, "This manner called Greek Revival penetrated almost all sections of the country . . . and is seen in surprising refinement and beauty in localities that were wilderness but a few years before." Its "homogeneous expression with numerous regional variations" is the theme that Prof. Hamlin elaborates upon with chapters on the style in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, the New England States, the South, the Gulf Coast, through the South to the Mississippi, and through the North to the Pacific.

These regional studies are preceded by important chapters — the *New Classicism*, the *Birth of American Architecture*, and *American Architecture Comes of Age*. These explain the transformation that overcame Colonial Architecture and produced a new style with the coming of the new Republic. Of this, Prof. Hamlin says: "The American Revolution brought a cultural as well as a political liberation. Hesitant at first, American leaders turned more and more away from British influence in the arts, though large conservative elements still for many years turned back to the past, and still in matters architectural considered England, if no longer the mother country, at least a benevolent and wise governess. But the cultural leaders of the country, men like Washington and Jefferson, held a different view. If England was no longer the cultural inspiration, a more vital influence took its place . . . the inspiration of the ancient classic world of Greece and Rome".

As Prof. Hamlin points out the idea of a Greek Revival had been forming in the minds of English architects and

dilettanti since the publication of STUART AND REVETTS *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762, and at Hagley in Worcestershire, as early as 1768 a garden temple in this style had been erected. However, the classic Revival first came to America in its Roman guise transported thither by Jefferson and Clérissieu in their monumental Virginia Capitol in Richmond. This was the first great temple form building of modern times, the Madeleine in Paris, the first in Europe, post dating it by several years. With buildings like this, Jefferson prepared the public mind for the Classic Revival, whether it be Roman or Greek and Prof. Hamlin observes the remarkable advance that Jefferson had brought to Virginia's architecture.

There was little conflict between Jefferson's Roman and Latrobe's Greek manner except in the orders and ornament employed. The most plausible source of dispute would be the limitations placed upon the architect by abjuring vaulted and domical forms of Roman architecture for the trebeated ones of Greek. This was, however, not in dispute at all as Latrobe and his followers fully availed themselves of the use of vaulting. He, himself, employed a dome in his first important American commission, the Bank of Pennsylvania, with Greek Ionic porticos at either entrance to the building. Prof. Hamlin says: "It does not aim at archeological correctness, except perhaps in detail. . . . It was a creation and not a copy, although the Ionic order used was taken from the Ionic temple on the Illisius near Athens".

This then at its best was the Greek Revival and this volume records the names of scores of competent, and sometimes brilliant architects of the period, and discusses their buildings. The best study is that of Prof. Hamlin's own city of New York, which grew in an amazing way from the close of the Revolution to the opening of the Civil War. Here, where the lore of building for the last century and a half are part of the author's background, he produces a stirring story of America's metropolis and of its monuments extant and destroyed. Of Boston, too, especially in recounting the building of this country's first great luxury hotel, The Tremont House, he produces quantities of little known facts that make a fascinating tale.

The westward growth of the country produced a formidable array of buildings in the style, even as far West as San Francisco, with the fine old Government Mint. A multiplicity of buildings in the middle west are cited in the text but as most of these are little known, and were not illustrated, it is difficult to grasp more than the fact that whole streets and towns were built in the style with occasional notable public buildings and occasional regional manners, like the pavilion type houses in Kentucky.

In the South the great wealth of the planters, their extensive hospitality and the warmer climate combined to produce new requirements and a new expression of the Greek Revival. While one feels that Prof. Hamlin is at his best in the country north of the Mason Dixon line, he has supplemented his personal knowledge of southern with a thorough analysis of the published works and the

architectural archives in the Library of Congress. One regrets lack of complete coverage of states such as Virginia and the omission of distinguished exemplars of the style such as Long Branch, in Clarke County, the fabulous Moss Neck Manor, in Caroline, Kinloch in Essex (by Robert Cary Long, Jr., of Baltimore), and the group of fine country houses near Richmond, and, especially, of Belle Grove, in Louisiana, the *opus magnum* of James Gallier, lately fallen into ruins, but even now the most superlative example of Greek Revival wedded to a Romantic plan. The skillful plan, brilliant detail and monumental size of this great mansion make it the fitting Swan Song of the style.

In addition to the main text of the book, which also includes a chapter on the rise and fall of the style, there is an excellent essay on the *American Development of Greek Inspired Forms*, and a remarkable bibliography, by the late SARAH H. J. SIMPSON HAMLIN, entitled *Some articles of architectural interest published in American periodicals prior to 1851*.

The format and typography of the volume are excellent. One regrets that the binding has not more the appearance of a garden club book than a scholarly one, and that the illustrations are not better correlated with the text. Except for a few fine exceptions, these should be larger and of higher photographic quality.

This volume is indeed a welcome addition to the growing scholarly works dealing with the architecture of early America. It is many years since HOWARD MAJOR's beautiful book on the Classic Revival was published. Prof. Hamlin's work shows how much has been learned in the intervening years. The picture drawn here of the exciting days of post Revolutionary expansion, and of the founding of the great profession of architecture, is inspiring to a degree.

THOMAS T. WATERMAN.

JULIUS S. HELD. — *Periodical literature of Flemish and Dutch painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 1939-41*. — Reprint from "The Art Bulletin," Vol. XXIV, No. 4, Dec. 1942.

We are late in quoting this survey, by our contributor and friend, Julius S. Held, of the recent literature devoted to the XV and XVI Centuries painting of the Low Countries. But we would feel guilty if we would not draw the attention of our readers to this most helpful, conscientious and thorough analysis of the wide material added to the study of Dutch and Flemish art in the years of 1939, 1940 and 1941, when one would have wrongly assumed that the world turmoil would have interrupted research and publication work. The author warns about the possible and unavoidable gaps in his survey, written during the years when correspondence with most of the European publications ceased. He does succeed, however, in surveying more than one hundred long and short studies published during this period in the two hemispheres. This is particularly valuable because the author made not only an analysis, but also a synthesis of these most varied contributions to the study of the schools of art under discussion.

Thus, we receive the gist of these contributions and, moreover, we find them in their right places and in their right proportions in the general history of the period, and this in the light of the literature previously devoted to the same period. There can hardly be a better way of assist-

ing our research in this particular domain. It would be a real help to future research if this work were taken as an example for similar compilations in other domains of the science of art, and if these regularly appeared along with the progression of the art studies in the world. This has been, it is true, attempted by the most useful periodical publication of the University of Paris — the *Répertoire d'Art et d'Archéologie* — a repertorium of all the newly published books and articles in the various divisions of science and history of art. But this was, precious as it was, merely a mine of references. While what we need is that sort of '*bibliographie raisonnée*' — commented bibliography — to which Mr. Held's survey of the "Art Bulletin" paves the way, and which the scholarly world should make every effort to see realized on a world-wide scale in a single periodical.

Assia R. Visson

MUSEUM NEWS, Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, (No. 105-6)

The latest issue of "Museum News" published by the Toledo Museum of Art contains a study of the three portraits by Raeburn which belong to that museum. These are the Portraits of *Lady Janet Traill* (received from Edward Drummond Libbey in 1925) and those of *Christina Thomson* and *Mrs. Bell* (gifts of Arthur J. Secor in 1933). The Traill family in Scotland owned the first mentioned portrait almost until its purchase by Mr. Libbey in 1911. It is one of Raeburn's masterpieces which, painted about 1801, is yet definitely an XVIII Century creation. With the *Portrait of Mrs. Bell*, "painted somewhat later", we feel at once the advent of a new period of art and the spirit of another century. The evolution appears as clearly in these paintings as it does, for instance, in the works of the great master of this transition period — J.-L. David. The author of this study quotes, as high tribute to Raeburn, the comparison drawn by Wilkie between Raeburn and Velasquez. The parallel with the art of David, which should not be overlooked, is not less gratifying to Raeburn's, and the English school's, prestige. And both stress once more upon what broad currents and extraordinary creative coincidences the artistic constellation of the world — slowly perfecting itself from one century to the other, from one civilization to the other — has transcended different local forms of art. The third portrait of Raeburn in the Toledo Museum, that of *Christina Thomson*, hardly needs the statement of its date — "probably 1822" — to make the onlooker actually feel the final departure of the artist from the XVIII Century and his full introduction into and participation in the alternating romantic and classical world of the early XIX Century. These three portraits thus represent both an individual and a general evolution of artistic conception. And one of the highest merits of the Toledo Museum is the fact of its having always selected for its collections such pieces of art as would be the most representative summaries of the great lessons of the general history of art. This perhaps explains why the report of the director of the Toledo Museum for 1943, published in this issue, could state that the attendance of the Museum for 1943 "aside from that of the National Gallery in Washington, and perhaps that of the Jocelyn Memorial Museum in Omaha, is probably still the highest ratio to population of that of any museum in the country."

A. R. V.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

- J. LEROY DAVIDSON received his training at Harvard College and took most of his graduate work at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and also at Mills College, Columbia University, the University of Michigan and the Paris Institute of Art and Archaeology. A specialist in the field of Far Eastern Art, he was associate editor of *Harper's Encyclopedia of Art*. He has been, since 1943, in charge of some special work for the War Department. From 1939 to May 1943, when he was called to serve there, he had been assistant director at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis (formerly Walker Art Galleries) which, at that time and with his assistance, was rejuvenated and reinstalled in a more educational manner. Special exhibitions were organized, among which one of the most successful was a comprehensive exhibition of Chinese paintings. To the same field of study belongs his study on *The bird-in-the-animal-mouth on Chinese bronzes* page 5
- HENRY REITLINGER, whose field of special studies is graphic arts, has lectured on that subject at the Courtauld Institute, University of London, and has published a long series of studies on drawings and engravings such as *A Selection of Drawings in the Victoria-Albert Museum, From Hogarth to Keene, Constable, L'Ami and Maunier, Some Unpublished Drawings by Durat in Lembar, Everdingen's drawings for Reynard the Fox, The Engravings of "Mad Martin", The Engravings of Count Coudt*, etc. In the present issue he discusses the fascinating question of *The De Pass Illustrations of Ovid* page 15
- WILLIAM R. VALENTINER, Director, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich., is a former assistant of Thode (Heidelberg, 1904-05), Hofstede de Groot (The Hague, 1905-06), and Bode (Berlin, 1906-08). He was Curator of Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1908-14) before coming to serve at the Detroit Institute of Art, first as adviser (1921-23) and, finally, as Director (from 1924 on). His published works are too numerous to be listed here. This is true not only of his short studies but also of his books, a long series on Rembrandt, and on other masters of the Low Countries, catalogues of the great American art-collections, etc. Among his contributions to the study of Italian art are his volumes on *The late years of Michelangelo* (1914), *Tino da Camaino* (1934) as well as many articles such as the one in this issue on *The last Prince of Urbino* page 27
- The publication of this article in the "Gazette" by the busy editor of "The Art Quarterly" (a magazine published by the Detroit Institute of Arts), takes on the value of a fraternal gesture.
- WYLIE SYPHER, Associate Professor of English Literature, Simmons College, Boston, Mass., is the author of a book on English literature of the XVIII Century and many articles on literary subjects. He has lately been particularly interested in subjects pertaining both to literature and to the history of art, teaching at Simmons College, conjointly with the Department of Art, courses that integrate literature with the arts. This brought about another series of his articles, more closely connected with the study of art: one on *The Metaphysicals and the Baroque*, published in 1944 in the "Partisan Review", the one, in this issue, *Baroque afterpiece, the Picturesque* page 39
- and a study on the rococo in literature to appear soon in "Kenyon Review". They will be followed by his anthology correlating the XVIII Century arts with literature, which is in the hands of W. W. Norton, for post war publication.
- E. TIETZE-CONRAT with Hans Tietze, has completed two notable works in recent years: *The Critical Catalogue of the Works of Albrecht Durer* (published in Augsburg and Basel between 1928 and 1937) and a *Catalogue of the Venetian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries* (published in New York in 1944). Her special field of study is graphic arts, in particular German and Italian prints. In this issue she publishes a study on: *An Unknown Portrait of Pico Della Mirandola* page 59
- BIBLIOGRAPHY in this issue page 63
- is by THOMAS T. WATERMAN, former Architectural Director of the Historic American Buildings Survey, and by MRS. ASSIA R. VISSON, associated with the "Gazette" since 1930 and Secretary of its Council.

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